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SCIENCE AND THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF INDUSTRY

By P. SARGANT FLORENCE

IN the last year or two we have become conscious of the impact of science upon society, and this consciousness has crystallized in the new Social Relations Division of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Previous to the formation of this division, a number of scientific (happily including sociological) workers were asked by *Nature* for their opinion on a somewhat similar plan to form an independent society for the study of the social relations of science. These opinions, published on April 23, 1938, reveal, if they do nothing more, the wide views taken of the character of the impact. Many scientists seemed to restrict the word "Society" to the Society of Scientists and were anxious about the co-ordination and finance of research. Others were content to urge a faster adoption of scientific discoveries. Only a few pointed out that it was the very nature of science itself, not its lack of co-ordination or the pace of its adoption, that was presenting problems to Society at large.

Some of these problems were ably discussed by Lord Stamp in his Presidential Address to the British Association in 1936. He pointed, as any economist must do, at the effects of applying scientific invention to industry in the shape of mechanization. The most obvious effect is so-called technological unemployment, but there is also the possibility of a cost in a too rapid obsolescence of old capital due to new appliances and

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methods competing with and superseding it. These effects are economic in the strict sense. They constitute changes in the terms of exchange arising out of events in a given industrial system. But there are other effects of mechanization and applied science generally upon industry that seem to me to go deeper, because they tend to change the system itself. The dominant industrial system at the present time is supposed to be capitalist in the sense that the ultimate control over the policy and high strategy of price and production is in the hands of an entrepreneur who is influenced mainly by the profit he obtains on his capital. But what if science, and the mechanization derived from it, are altering the system so that this is no longer the dominant relation? What if capital no longer belongs to the entrepreneur? What if the entrepreneur no longer obtains a profit on a capital he doesn't own? Has not science, if this is the case, effected rather an important revolution in the social relations of industry?—a revolution that seems to have passed unnoticed by scientists themselves. At any rate it is worth enquiring into—scientifically—as an hypothesis.

I. THE SCIENTIFIC MEASUREMENT OF THE ADVANCE OF SCIENCE

What are the overt, objective manifestations of the application of science to industry? The following order of events may perhaps serve as a guiding outline. Scientific research leads (occasionally) to an invention. Some inventions can be commercialized, that is to say the invention can be produced and sold at a price to cover costs, including the costs of taking the risk of failure to cover costs. Now of these commercial inventions some are new articles for the consumer's pleasure, others are aids to the industrial producer to produce given articles more efficiently. It is, of course, the latter that concern industrial society. The industrial inventions may belong to mechanical, chemical, biological, or any other branch of science, but we may for short

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refer to their introduction into industrial technique as mechanization.

The first step is the exact measurement of the objective facts or processes involved in our hypothesis. Mechanization is a matter of degree—some industries are clearly more mechanized than others—and it is essential to work out some index to show objectively how far the application of scientific devices has progressed in various industries. The American Census of Manufactures gives us the horse-power capacity of prime-movers and of electric motors driven by purchased energy for some 320 separate manufacturing industries. This information has been obtained over six or seven decades, and there is no question that for manufacturers as a whole horse-power per wage-earner employed has enormously increased. In 1899 this index of scientific progress was 2.11, in 1929 it was 4.86. For Great Britain similar information about factory trades has been collected by the Census of Production in 1924 and 1930; this gives horse-power per person employed as 2.02 and 2.44.

Little can be proved of the effects of this scientific progress by taking such overall averages. Progress in the use of science and the changes associated with it must be shown industry by industry. In such comparison of industries horse-power per employee is not an altogether satisfactory index. Some most complicated and costly mechanical and chemical equipment, the result of long scientific research, need little power capacity compared to crude unscientific steam hammers or comparatively cheap agricultural tractors.

We are driven back from physical quantities to their perhaps pale and uncertain reflection in economic measures. The degree of delicacy and complication of different equipment and the length of scientific research involved can only find a common basis of measurement in economic values and costs: either the value of the equipment at a given moment or its cost of maintenance and rate of depreciation over a given period. Apart from some estimates of the U.S. Census

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Bureau for manufactures, farms, and railways each taken as a whole,¹ there is unfortunately little information of the value or costs of industrial equipment alone. It is usual to lump all forms of investment together. Investment consists in the circulating or working capital of material and semi-finished or finished products, as well as in the fixed capital of machines and equipment and land. But circulating capital is probably not increasing much per head; and with greater economy of stocks is probably actually diminishing per given income. Increases and additions of capital per head can therefore be attributed mainly to fixed capital.

Colin Clark estimates that the real capital in Great Britain per head of population rose 78 per cent. between 1865 and 1909.² He calculates *the addition* to fixed capital clear of maintenance and depreciation as £110 million in 1907 and £268 million in 1935.³ This represented about 5½ per cent. and 6 per cent. of the then National Income. As to the annual equipment costs for maintenance and depreciation, Clark estimates them as £139 million in 1907 and £386 million in 1934, equivalent to 6·8 per cent. and 9·1 per cent. of the National Income.

But if we wish to compare one industry with another, only fragmentary and often misleading information is available, in company balance sheets, profit and loss accounts, statements of overhead costs and some few official enquiries since the American Census of Manufactures ceased, in 1909, giving the capital in different industries. The perfect index of the degree of capital investment in fixed equipment reached by different industries still awaits discovery by some research student, willing to turn from the fascination of the abstract theory of capital to capital's more concrete manifestations.

Whatever methods of measurement, physical or economic, are adopted, one fact is certain. There is the greatest disparity in the mechanization shown by different industries. According to the British Census of 1930, the whole group of

¹ See below.

² *National Income and Outlay*, p. 273.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

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clothing trades had a horse-power per employee of 0.24; the engineering and shipbuilding group had 2.04, and the iron and steel group 5.99. Single industries showed yet greater disparity, from tailoring and dressmaking with 0.14 horse-power per employee to cement-making with 21.1. These physical divergencies are reflected in the *economic* ratios of Capital per Annual Value Added (i.e. Net Output) shown by the 1909 American census. Here women's clothes had a capital only 0.73 times the value added; iron and steel had a capital 3.02 times the annual value added.¹ Obviously it would be foolish to assess the degree to which science has touched industry. There is not one answer, but almost as many answers as there are industries. And instances so far have only been taken from the manufacturing order of industries.

When it comes to commerce, including wholesale and retail distribution, banking and insurance, or to personal and professional service, there is little horse-power used and one may well ask whether science has had any direct impact at all. In building, the British Census gives horse-power per man in 1930 as low as 0.45. On the other hand, in coal-mining horse-power per man is given as 5.1. In the United States mining also has a high horse-power per man (8.8 in 1929; bituminous coal-mining only, 6.8). It is notorious that railway transport has unusually high capital costs,² and the capital investment in ships per seaman is also high. Public Utilities are highly capitalized and high-powered, too.³ In Great Britain for 1930, gas undertakings had a horse-power per man of 2.2, water undertakings 5.7, and electricity undertakings 195.5. The U.S.A. Census of Manufactures of 1929 gives gas making 12.63 horse-power per man.

The only main "order" of industry not yet considered is agriculture. Here biological sciences have perhaps been as

¹ For a rough classification of further industries, see Florence, *Logic of Industrial Organization*, pp. 94-6.

² Florence, *The Statistical Method in Economics and Political Science*, pp. 330-1, for measures of mechanization in railways (and other industries).

³ Feavearyear, *Economic Journal*, June 1936.

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much applied as the mechanical; and as far as implements and machinery are concerned, agriculture certainly has a lower ratio of capital values to output than manufactures as a whole. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census manufacturing machinery tools and implements were worth in 1904 3,297 million dollars and in 1922 15,783 million dollars. This amounts to .202 and .305 of the value of each year's gross product, or .522 and .717 of the values *added by manufacture*. Agricultural implements and machinery were worth in 1904 and 1922, 845 and 2,605 million dollars. This amounts only to .138 and .262 of the total wealth produced in those years on farms. Agriculture may, on the whole, be classed as an industry of comparatively low mechanization.

2. SCIENCE AND THE STAFFING AND SCALE OF INDUSTRY

While awaiting detailed measurement it is possible to say (1) that the use of science measured in mechanization and capitalization has advanced rapidly for industry as a whole, but (2) it has advanced at a very different pace for different industries. What has been the result on the structure of industry as a whole and of its separate branches? By confining attention to social structure, I exclude the results on technique (for instance, the rate of obsolescence), and on the number unemployed and therefore permanently or temporarily outside the structure; and I exclude the results on the incidental and passing circumstances of the trade cycle. These results have been and are being investigated by economists already.

The important results on permanent industrial structure of the mechanization and high capital equipment due to science appear to me three: an increase in the ratio of salaried staff and of brain-workers generally to the manual wage-earning operatives; a trend towards a larger size of firms and plants; and a wider search for capital, materializing in the institution of the Joint Stock Company. All these results are extremely important to Society at large.

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"A relative expansion in the controlling and clerical staffs was common to all the groups of manufacturing industries, and was one of the most striking changes disclosed by the Census," say the British Census of Production for 1930, in comparing its results with those of the 1924 census. In 1924 there were on the average 8.5 factory operatives to every member of staff; in 1930 the proportion had fallen to 7.3. Indeed, factory operatives actually declined in numbers while the numbers of the staff rose. In America the number of manufacturing wage-earners per salaried officer was in 1904, 10.5; in 1929, 6.5. Side by side with growth of staff inside plants engaged in productive industry, rapid growth has occurred, as is well known, in all ranks of the distributive and service industries. The reason behind these statistically measurable events is not far to seek.

Machines may displace operatives, but they increase output and cheapen goods. The staff of productive industries is increased because the number of the technical staff is probably some function of the number of machines; the number of the clerical staff—though themselves liable to displacement by machines—some function of the output made and sold; and the number of the administrative staff, in turn probably a function of output, technical and clerical staff. The number in the distributive industries is increased because it is a function of the output to be sold; and the cheapening of goods by machine production has probably released purchasing power for expansion of the numbers in the service industries.

The precise relation between the degree of mechanization of an industry and the typical size of its units, particularly its factories, has been investigated by Mr. A. Sheinfield, B.A., under my supervision at the University of Birmingham. Preliminary results "seem to justify the generalization that the higher the mechanization of an industry, the larger is the size of its constituent plants or factories."¹

¹ Florence, "Economic Research and Industrial Policy," *Economic Journal*, December 1937, p. 628.

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Mechanization of one industry may also, of course, influence the typical size of plants of another. This is particularly true of the transport and communications industry. Cheaper transport allows materials and products to be carried further and thus makes it possible for the manufacturing stage of production to take place away from the supply of material and the demand of the consumers market.¹ Thus a few, larger, manufacturing plants can be "localized" at selected places. This consideration explains the outstanding exception to the generalization that the higher the mechanization of an industry the larger the size of its plants. Where the cost remains high of bringing up scattered materials (e.g. native timber) or of distributing produce to a scattered market (e.g. beer), there manufacturing plants must also be scattered to be near their material or market. Some of these "ubiquitous" manufactures are highly mechanized (e.g. saw-mills or breweries), "but their plants cannot be large because production must be carried on in so many plants situated in scattered localities."² But even in these industries the invention of cheaper transport and refrigeration of materials and products is continually freeing the manufacturing stage for large-scale localization.

The explanation of the relation of size to mechanization within an industry is probably that the more powerful and more costly the engines and equipment, the more it pays to congregate men round them as a single indivisible plant; also that mechanization involves specialization of processes and that the necessary co-ordination of such special processes and of transport and communication in one "plan" has a minimum cost when the specialists are all under one roof.

Finally, and here we begin to touch upon the crucial social relations of control, mechanization seems to be associated (directly or indirectly through its effects upon size of plant) with the institution of the Joint Stock Company.

¹ H. Levy, *The New Industrial System*, pp. 77 ff.

² Florence, *loc. cit.*, p. 629.

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3. THE TWILIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL ENTREPRENEUR

Economists still speak and even write as though the dominant control in the economic system were exercised by a personal entrepreneur, paid by a profit, using his own capital at a risk and managing the affairs of the enterprise. Suspicions that this entrepreneur might in many industries no longer exist were first aroused by the familiar difficulties in discussing the reason for profit. Was profit the wages of management, or was it paid for capital, or perhaps for risk-bearing? When the profit-taker managed, owned the capital, and bore the risks all in his proper person, the difficulty did not arise. Profits were paid for all three functions. But nowadays the distribution of gross profit so often splits into salaries for management, interest on debenture capital and loans, and dividends for the risk-bearing shareholders. In American industry, transport, and finance,¹ as an official document tells us, the profit taken by entrepreneurs only amounted for 1929 to \$2,754 million as compared with \$9,578 million going to interest and dividends. In manufacturing alone the salaries of principal officers "performing entrepreneurial functions" amounted to \$1,132 million.² What is profit for, or indeed where is it at all, when it comes to distribution? These are questions which reality has already presented to the theoretical economist.

In many industries of the real world the normal business appears to be a Joint Stock Company. Though "profit" can be used by the accountant to denote a certain surplus appearing in the company's accounts, after certain costs are subtracted from the gross revenue, other and more precise words seem more suitable to denote those payments to factors of production for specific functions in which the economist is interested. Once this is done the whole assumption of the "profit-motive" as guiding the economic mechanism of

¹ Excluding agriculture, trade services, and government. National Income, 1929-32. 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 124.

² *Op cit.*, p. 31.

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the distribution of resources is brought into question. But before undertaking this final assault let us be sure of the facts. First of all, where and how far is the normal business now the Joint Stock Company?

The answer for manufacturing is given most clearly in the United States of America. The Census of Manufactures tells us the percentage of total value of product and percentage of wage-earners in establishments producing more than \$50,000 a year controlled by corporations—the legal equivalent of our Joint Stock Company. Both these percentages have been steadily growing. They were in 1909, 79 per cent. and 75.6 per cent., and in 1929, 92 per cent. and 89.9 per cent. The remaining percentages of product and wage-earners came under individual ownership or partnership. Outside manufactures, the U.S. Censuses for 1929 show the triumph of the corporation or Joint Stock organization in mining (95 per cent. of all wage-earners) and in wholesale distribution (74.2 per cent. of net sales). In retail distribution, however, just over half the sales (51.0 per cent.), and in building and construction 63.6 per cent. of all establishments were in 1929 under the control of partnerships or individual proprietors.

In spite of the absence of complete statistical information about the other orders of industry we may be fairly certain that in America—and Great Britain¹—the Joint Stock Company is universal in railways, predominant in shipping; and that the individual entrepreneur (or partnership) is almost universal in agriculture and professional services, and predominant in building and catering and personal service—in spite of Joint Stock hotels.

The mere recital of this classification of main orders of industries is enough to show the connexion of Joint Stock organization with mechanization. The classification of

¹ In Great Britain there is no official figure measuring the extent of Joint Stock, but the Liberal Industrial Enquiry of 1928 (p. 84) was emphatic that the Joint Stock Companies "now operate practically the whole of the large-scale business of the country, which lies outside the scope of the Public Concern."

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industries by degrees of Joint Stock and by degrees of mechanization (above, page 3) is almost identical.

Highly Mechanized and much Joint Stock

Manufacturing (on the whole), public utility, rail and sea transport, mines.

Low Mechanization and little Joint Stock

Retailing, building, agriculture, personal and professional services.

Low Mechanization and much Joint Stock

Banking, wholesaling, insurance.

The only exception to the positive association between mechanization and predominance of Joint Stock Companies are thus certain branches of commerce. Here, though the fixed capital investment is not large, there is either an economy (e.g. for the wholesaler) in bulk transactions requiring large capital, or else there is the chance, by "massing" transactions, of reducing risks and thus the proportion of liquid capital to be held in reserve.¹ This economy of massed reserves is effected most easily in insurance and banking by firms employing large, jointly owned capitals.

It was shown that though in modern manufacturing industry as a whole horse-power per man was high, yet there were wide differences between one manufacturing industry and another. Can it be shown that *within* the manufacturing order of industries degree of Joint Stock is also linked to degree of mechanization? The U.S. Census of Manufactures for 1929 gives details of horse-power and the number of wage-earners under individual and partner ownership, or under corporations in a total of some 210 industries, engaging not less than 5,000 persons. Individual and partner ownership survived to at least the extent of one wage-earner employed out of five in the case of thirty-two industries, or 15 per cent.

¹ Florence, *Logic of Industrial Organization*, pp. 13-20.

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of the total. These industries, however, included over 50 per cent. (15 out of 28) of the total of industries with less than one horse-power per man, and only two of them were found among the total of forty-five industries with over six horse-power per man. It certainly appears as though manufactures where individual and partner ownership survives were, on the whole, also manufactures of low rather than high mechanization.

Mere statistical association cannot be taken to prove causal connexion unless there is some reasonable explanation to support it. In this association of machine power with predominance of Joint Stock Companies, an explanation may perhaps be found in the following line of argument. Machines and quasi-durable scientific equipment of all sorts require a relatively large capital for fixed investment.¹ This capital cannot be obtained by borrowing on mortgage as in the case of agricultural land which does not normally risk physical depreciation or obsolescence; nor can it be obtained by commercial borrowing on stocks of merchandize, durable or not, that are self-liquidating and nearly ready for sale, and are thus likely soon to permit repayment of the loan. A new method of raising capital, and of raising it in large amounts under one continuous control, is necessitated. These large capitals, more subject to risk than mortgages or commercial credit, can only be obtained from a numerous "company" of stock-holders, prepared to own the capital, who must, in theory at least, control the administration jointly, as one person, and an immortal one at that!

"The history of the business corporation or joint stock

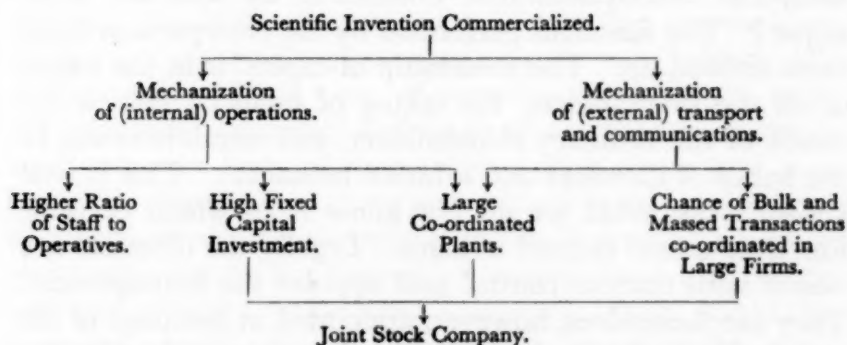
¹ This link in the argument is in its turn supported by statistics. Taking the 131 American manufacturing industries engaging over 5,000 persons in 1909, a high horse-power per man was clearly reflected in a high capital per annual wage bill. No low-powered industry with less than $\frac{1}{2}$ h.p. per man had a total capital (including current or intangible assets) more than five times the annual wages bill; no high-powered industry with 5 h.p. per man or more had a capital of less than five times the wages bill. Industries with intermediate horse-power had intermediate capitalization, e.g. all industries with horse-power per man from 1.5 to 1.9 had a capital twice to just less than seven times the wages bill.

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company in England during the one hundred and fifty years following the Statute of 1720 (the Bubble Act) is the story of an economic necessity forcing its way slowly and painfully to legal recognition against strong commercial prejudice in favour of 'individual' enterprise, and in the face of determined attempts of both the legislature and the courts to deny it."¹

History shows also that as industries began to use the costly equipment prescribed by science, so Joint Stock Companies began to prevail. "The trade of making and maintaining a navigable cut or canal; and the similar trade of bringing water for the supply of a great city," were admitted by Adam Smith² in 1776 as "possible for a joint stock company to carry on successfully, without an exclusive privilege." Since 1776, Joint Stock organization, in spite of unlimited liability and the legal difficulties of incorporation, had invaded mining, the gas industry, steam navigation and, most notably, railways. All these industries were created or developed by science.

The line of argument from science to Joint Stock Company may be summed up in the following genealogical tree:



Of three main factors generating these companies one is high fixed capital investment. This is the direct result of

¹ Hunt, *The Development of the Business Corporation in England*, p. 13.

² *The Wealth of Nations*, bk. v, ch. i.

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the mechanization of the internal operations of the firm. A second factor generating Joint Stock Companies is the large co-ordinated plant also due, in part at least, to internal mechanization. And larger plants are permitted by the mechanization of, and hence cheapening of, external transport facilities. A third factor generating Joint Stock Companies is the economy of co-ordinated bulk and massed transaction in commerce. Here, though internal mechanization is absent, the mechanization or cheapening of transport and, above all, communication has probably been important. All this mechanization has been the result in turn of the commercial use of scientific invention. Thus at three removes, the Joint Stock Company is in direct descent from science. And of all the children of science, the Joint Stock Company is, in the sphere of social relations, perhaps the most potent. To-day it is not a question where the Joint Stock Company has invaded industry as a controlling force, but rather in what industries the individual entrepreneur survives at all.

4. THE ENTREPRENEUR'S SUCCESSORS

Who has succeeded the entrepreneur in the wide area of industrial transactions now dominated by scientific technique? The functions performed by the entrepreneur have been divided up. The ownership of capital is in the hands of all the shareholders, the taking of financial risk in the hands of the ordinary shareholders, and administration in the hands of directors and salaried managers. This is well known. But what we do not know is to which of these functions actual control adheres. Legally the directors are vested with current control and appoint the management. They are themselves, however, appointed at meetings of the shareholders. Thus ultimate control appears to be with the majority of votes given in person or by proxy at shareholders' meetings. This would conform to Capitalism's "Golden Rule,"¹ that control goes with risk, a view sup-

¹ Robertson, *Control of Industry*, ed. i, p. 89.

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ported by Professor F. H. Knight's contention that "the ownership of property is necessary to the assumption of genuine responsibility," and that "the crucial decision is the selection of men to make decisions."¹

True enough, if we examine the details of company organization it is the owners of the more risky shares that seem to be given the ruling votes for control.² Debenture stock, with legal security for fixed interest rate, carries no votes and, usually, preference shares only carry votes when preference dividends are threatened. But here inductive confirmation of the control with risk theory ends.

Apart from debentures and preference shares, almost any arrangement may seemingly be made for giving more votes to certain classes of ordinary shares than to others and for depriving some shares of votes altogether. And in any case, shareholders are usually too numerous, far away, unskilled in business, or busy in other walks of life to exercise any part in control. Moreover, the practice of "spreading risks" by investing in a great number of companies has prevented the investor taking much interest in any one company. Professor Knight's contention that the crucial decision is the selection of men is perfectly true; but directors are not usually selected by the body of the shareholders. Generally, shareholders merely acclaim the directors' names put forward beforehand.

The more realistic view of company control held until recently, both in America and England, was that it lay with a small coherent body of shareholders, often thought of as a financial clique connected with the original promoters.³ This body would possess sufficient votes to ensure a majority of the votes cast for the favoured directors, whose names they had put forward beforehand, some of whom might be members of the clique. Directors, it was thought, were

¹ Knight, *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit*, ed. i, pp. 297, 309.

² See Florence, *Statistical Method in Economics and Political Science*, p. 472, for a table comparing systems of industrial control in which, under the "later" Capitalist system, "rule" is assigned to the risk-taking owner.

³ See Florence, *Logic of Industrial Organization*, pp. 145-7.

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nominated by a sort of "co-option" within the ruling group.

In 1934, with the publication of Berle and Means' *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*, doubts were thrown on this view, too. Berle and Means analysed the shareholding of the two hundred largest non-financial corporations of the United States. They found the most frequent type (45 per cent. of the corporations) to have a scattering of holdings so complete that no small group—say the twenty persons holding the largest amount of shares—could together hold enough votes—say 15 per cent. or less—to constitute even the basis of a majority vote. Here Berle and Means were forced to conclude that for lack of any coherent power among the shareholders, the administration—directors and managers, paid not by profit but by fees and salaries—were left in virtual control. Where power among a small group (e.g. 20) of shareholders was possible, this was exercisable by holding a minority of votes (15 per cent. to 50 per cent.) in the case of 23 per cent. of the corporations, and by holding a majority of votes in the case of 5 per cent. of the corporations. These two types provide the factual basis for the theory of financial clique control.

The preponderance of "bureaucratic" companies seemingly, for want of other authority, ruled by the administration calls for more specific enquiry than Berle and Means have made into the "bureaucrats," beginning with the Board of Directors. In Great Britain an enquiry made under my supervision by Mr. J. Siviter, B.Com., at Birmingham University, into a random¹ sample of 365 industrial and commercial companies of all sizes, showed they had an aggregate of 1843 directors, or 5.4 directors each on the average. Some 223 of these directors gave "proper" qualifications, legal, technical, or accounting, so that 106 companies had an accountant, 51 had at least one technician,

¹ Every tenth company listed in the industrial and commercial section of the *Stock Exchange Year Book*.

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and 38 had at least one legal expert on the board. On the other hand, 97, or just over a quarter of the companies, had one or more titled persons on the board. Samuel¹ has shown, indeed, that the directorships held by peers not previously connected with business is almost as large as the total number of such peers—as 1 to 1.16.

Many companies demand that their directors hold a minimum share "qualification" to give them identity of interests with the shareholders at large and the incentive of profit. This qualification was discoverable for 263 of the sample companies—mainly the larger companies with a paid-up capital for the median company of nearly £200,000. For 136 (52 per cent.) of these companies, the qualification was £250 or less, for 218 (83 per cent.) £500 or less—i.e. about 0.25 per cent. or less of paid-up capital.

Further analysis is, of course, necessary, particularly into real as against paper qualifications. Independent confirmation is required of the view that not all directors are qualified, either by training or interest in profits, for large-scale control and that active control is probably focused on a smaller group even than the Board.

It must not be assumed that Joint Stock Company organization always involves the disappearance of the individual entrepreneur—individual in the strict sense that, to adopt an Americanism, all the entrepreneurial functions are still undivided under one hat. The Joint Stock Company is occasionally a legal cloak, clothing a perfectly individual personal entrepreneur. For a single man may administer a business as a managing director and also own it and bear its risks as the holder of all or a majority of the ordinary shares. Outstanding examples of such businesses are the Ford Motor Company and, until recently, Morris Motors. Berle and Means consider that 6 per cent. of the very large corporations they studied were of this type; among smaller corporations and Joint Stock Companies the proportion is

¹ *Shareholders' Money*, p. 114.

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likely to be higher. It should be noticed that it is only a portion even of "public" companies that have their shares bought and sold freely by the general public on the Stock Exchange.

Canada has largely confirmed Berle and Means' results in an official enquiry,¹ but in Great Britain enquiries into the real seat of power in the all-powerful Joint Stock Companies have not proceeded far. Such realistic research requires funds for any extensive investigation, and, somewhat naturally, economists prefer the less expensive and more honoured armchair thinking to the difficulties, indignities, and all too frequent disappointments of searching for these funds. At Birmingham University, however, Mr. H. M. Davies, B.A., was able, under my supervision, to analyse the distribution of holdings in twenty of the largest British companies and found the same differentiated types as Berle and Means, though in different proportions. Oligarchic control by investors' clique (in one case largely members of one family), where eight persons or less held at least 30 per cent. of the whole voting stocks, was possible in eleven of the twenty cases. Bureaucratic control by management was indicated in four cases where at least the largest seventy holdings would have to be added to obtain even 20 per cent. of the votes. The control of the remaining five companies fell between these extremes. Of ten other large British Joint Stock Companies originally studied by Parkinson in his *Scientific Investment*, three definitely, five perhaps, present possibilities of oligarchic investors' control; one definitely presents possibilities of bureaucratic control.

5. COMPANY AND SUPER-COMPANY

The percentage of all corporations representing Berle and Means' types of control have not yet added up to a hundred. The gap is filled by 1 per cent. of corporations in receivership, and 21 per cent. controlled by a legal device of which

¹ Report of Royal Commission on Price Spreads.

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the most important is the holding company. This brings us to the next stage in the evolution of forms of social organization to cope with the demands of science for larger plants under one co-ordinated plan. Rather than expand the capital of a single Joint Stock Company it has proved simpler to use or create one company to hold the shares of other, "subsidiary," companies. This device permits of further concentration of power for those, whoever they are, who rule the "top" holding company. To control the subsidiary company, a holding company need not hold more shares than carry 51 per cent. of the subsidiary's votes. Similarly, to rule the holding company a super-holding company need not hold more shares than carry 51 per cent. of the holding company's votes. Whoever controls the super-holding company need not hold more shares of the subsidiary company than carry 51 per cent. of 51 per cent., i.e. 25.6 per cent. of its votes. This pyramid may be indefinitely elongated and allows the huge capitals required by scientific processes to be co-ordinated and controlled by one or a few persons, holding but a fraction of the capital value.

We need not pursue this line. The holding company and other forms of combine, such as the interlocking directorate, though they only amplify the power of whoever rules the "super" Joint Stock Company, have received the lime-light, particularly in Germany and America. In Great Britain combination by holding company and interlocking directorates are apparently considered of less importance. But even here there is a wide prevalence of these amplifying devices.

The sample of all sizes of company studied by Mr. J. Siviter showed that over a quarter (28.5 per cent.) were holding companies and that more than half the directors held more than one directorship. Of the eighty English non-financial companies with (in 1935) the largest capital, studied by Mr. H. M. Davies, twenty-three were purely holding companies, fifty-one were holding and operating com-

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panies, and six purely operating. Between them these eighty companies had 748 subsidiaries mentioned officially. The directorships of these eighty largest companies numbered 896 (an average of 11.2 per company), but were held by 838 persons, indicating some interlocking between the big companies themselves. In all companies these 838 persons held among them 4,893 directorships. Of these 1,857 were directorships in subsidiary companies, 1,715 in subsidiaries of holding companies of which the individual was also a director. Interlocking as an independent device to combine two or more companies cannot be established until at least the same two persons are both found on the two or more boards. Of the seventy-two larger non-financial companies whose boards were analysed for the purpose, fifty-four were found to be interlocked in this way with other companies, usually similar in the nature of their business.

Where, we may well ask, is this process of concatenation leading?

6. SCIENCE AND THE FUTURE OF INDUSTRY

Following up the results of the advancement of science on industrial organization is not of mere academic interest as a study of the past. Science is still advancing and advancing at an ever increasing rate, and the consequences of this continued advance lie in the future. Our follow-up thus leads to a forecast of the utmost practical importance. If the analysis of past and present trends is correct, the use and development of further scientific discovery will require more and more capital to be co-ordinated under single plans. This, in those industries where science is applied, will lead to larger Joint Stock Companies with, however, no larger number in control. The co-ordinating power will remain in a few hands. Thus all devices will be exploited to the full for concentrating away—distilling—the legal sovereignty of the shareholder by differential voting rights, by unequal holding

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of voting shares, by holding companies or by interlocking directors.

This increasing concentration of power is, again, not of mere academic "political science" interest. Industrial policies affecting workmen and the whole community of consumers are being determined by the few persons in command. For the concentration of power reverses the automatic system of perfect competition imagined by classical economics. Under that system the various alternative policies of individual firms were perhaps not worth studying. They were merged in the mass, and it was therefore thought simpler to think of wages or prices being fixed by impersonal principles of supply and demand equilibrium. But to-day economists can no longer speak in the neutral gender or the passive voice, or even of an active male entrepreneur in the abstract. A study of actual policies and real people in control is needed, and will spring many a surprise. Captains of industry similarly placed may be found to adopt and successfully maintain a quite individual policy, regardless, apparently, of economic principle.¹

Industrial policy will affect consumers through decisions about prices and the kind, quality, and quantity of production; it will affect workers through decisions about wages, hours, and conditions of work; it will affect shareholders through decisions about the portion of profits to be distributed in dividend; it will affect other industries, general employment, the trade-cycle and national progress, through decisions about the portion of profits to plough back in equipment, to invest in other industries, or to put in liquid stocks and reserves, openly or, through depreciation allowances, secretly. Clearly what sort of decisions about policy are the more frequent, is no academic question.

Often some one decision may definitely prevail. For one

¹ Though it is highly probable that individuals will fall into types according to their education and antecedent conditioning generally. In my *Logic of Industrial Organization*, pp. 204-20, I suggest nine of such types, who will be likely to adopt a characteristic variation of policy—with varying efficiency.

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or a few large firms within any industry are likely to approach a monopoly position and to be able to dictate policy, either by tacit leadership,¹ by gentleman's agreement, or by overt association. In this further concentration of power science has again played a part. The capital costs of a co-ordinated indivisible scientific equipment are often prohibitive to the entry of new competitors, and the fixed, inescapable overhead costs of firms that are so equipped may be felt so risky in the uncertainties of competitive trade that competition is called off. Thus science, which has divorced control from joint ownership, has given that control good reasons for preserving or seeking monopoly. The limit which we are already approaching is such complete authoritarian control, free from the sanctions of capitalist competition and the sanctions of capitalist ownership, that an admitted rupture with capitalism passes hardly unnoticed. It is possible that the large capitals necessary for success will be co-ordinated more and more as a monopoly by a State or even Co-operative authority whose policy will not exploit the position. This transformation, which the transferable Joint Stock share has made so feasible, is likely to be hastened by the fact that Capitalist, compared to State or Co-operative² procedure, has proved itself most wasteful and uneconomical in the supply of capital on a large scale. The expenses and profits of the middleman involved in the original promotion, and the compensation and fees involved in any reorganization must be added to the high dividends on original or reorganized capital that are expected by shareholders exposed to business risks which they realize they do not control. The main obstacle to the success of State or Co-operative organization is not in fact the difficulty of raising capital, so much as the supply and stimulation of enterprising leadership.

Public control is likely, in England at least, to come piece-

¹ See A. R. Burns, *The Decline of Competition*.

² Carr-Saunders, Florence and Peers, *Consumers' Co-operation in Great Britain*, pp. 378-82, 452.

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meal, industry by industry. Now the order in which industries may thus be controlled is likely to be much the same as the order in which Joint Stock was introduced. Adam Smith's restriction of the trades possible for the Joint Stock Company to carry on successfully to those "capable of being reduced to what is called a routine or to such an uniformity of method as admits of little or no variation,"¹ is in fact now argued as the restriction proper to nationalization. Trades requiring a variety of method may now find themselves remaining under Joint Stock enterprise, but trades needing, with fairly routine management, a high fixed capital for scientific equipment may have to seek public control. In fact, industries with the higher measures of mechanization or capitalization such as electric supply, railways, tramways, canals, dock and harbours, water-undertakings, telephone, telegraph and cable, already are, in the chief capitalist countries, found under public control, either municipal or national.

Thus science in its advance has had an impact on all categories of social relations involved in the organization of industry. Science has led to functional and administrative specialization, has enlarged the structure of plants and firms and increased the size of these firms in still larger federal combinations, and it has utterly changed the procedure of industrial rule and control. To be clear about future trends, and to plan with knowledge and forethought, it is necessary, however, to be scientific in the study of these new social relations. The new developments all tend away from an economic system actual or alleged where terms of exchange and amounts exchanged fix themselves automatically by the competition of innumerable entrepreneurs. In many transactions prices are now, as Mr. Means has it, "administered." This being the case (and probably getting more so in the future), the industrial system cannot be left purely for economists to study.

¹ *Wealth of Nations*, bk. i, ch. i.

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Wide areas of the system are becoming dominated by the plans and enterprise of large administrative units—capitalist, co-operative, or public. Within these units there is conscious, deliberate rule as a State is ruled, and the type of policy pursued depends upon the ruler. A realistic study of industrial relations must therefore be concerned with such practical social and political problems as the consequences of alternative means of appointing those directing and controlling policy, of sharing administrative functions among them, and of providing incentives, whether by profit, by salary with-fear-of-dismissal, or by psychological motive. Economics, in short, must be supplemented by industrial sociology.

A STUDY OF POPULATION IN ULANGA, TANGANYIKA TERRITORY

By A. T. CULWICK and G. M. CULWICK

[This article is continued from the October issue.]

III. CHILD MORTALITY

UNLESS otherwise stated, mortality rates are calculated on the basis of the number of deaths per 1,000 live births, and the data on which they are based are given in Table VI (p. 26), which contains a summary of information obtained from the life-histories of the women interviewed.

The calculation of mortality rates from data of this type is not straightforward, for though we know the number of deaths which have occurred in any given age-grade of children, we do not know how many of the survivors in that grade will die before passing on to the next one. It is, however, possible by the following method to make allowance for this complicating factor, and to work out mortality rates sufficiently accurately to serve a useful purpose.

For Grade I

Let us consider a number of persons, e_1 , who at one time or another have entered Grade I. Of these a_1 are still alive in the grade and b_1 have already died in the grade. Let the proportion of entrants normally expected to die before passing into Grade II be p_1 .

Now p_1 is not equal to $\frac{b_1}{e_1}$ because some of a_1 will die before passing out of the grade.

Assuming that the persons represented by a_1 are equally distributed within the grade and also that the chances of death are the same at all ages within the grade, we find that:

Of the persons a_1 , $\frac{a_1 p_1}{2}$ will die before passing on to the next grade.

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TABLE VI

SURVIVORS

Age-grades of Women.	Number of Women.	Live Births.	SURVIVORS					DEAD					
			I. Birth to 6 Months.	II. 6 Months to Weaning.	III. Weaning to 7 Years.	IV. 7 Years to Puberty.	V. Adult.	Total.	I. Birth to 6 Months.	II. 6 Months to Weaning.	III. Weaning to 7 Years.	IV. 7 Years to Puberty.	Total.
Under 20 .	226	207	23	112	14	—	—	149	53	5	—	—	58
20-30 .	816	1,621	66	229	404	281	—	980	398	179	59	5	641
30-50 .	685	1,707	15	58	140	353	301	867	462	191	137	50	840
Over 50 .	647	2,027	—	1	6	100	840	947	468	281	257	74	1,080
Total .	2,374	5,562	104	400	564	734	1,141	2,943	1,381	656	453	129	2,619

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$$\therefore b_1, \text{ i.e. the total deaths (corrected) within the grade} \\ = b_1^1 + \frac{a_1 p_1}{2}$$

A But $b_1 = e_1 p_1$

$$p_1 = \frac{b_1}{e_1}, \text{ i.e. } \frac{\text{total deaths (corrected) in the grade}}{\text{total entering the grade}}$$

$$= \frac{b_1^1 + \frac{a_1 p_1}{2}}{e_1}$$

$$\therefore e_1 p_1 = b_1^1 + \frac{a_1 p_1}{2}$$

$$\therefore p_1 \left(e_1 - \frac{a_1}{2} \right) = b_1^1$$

B
$$p_1 = \frac{b_1^1}{e_1 - \frac{a_1}{2}}$$

From this b_1 may be calculated, see A above.

C The number (corrected) passing on to Grade II $= e_1 - b_1$.

For Grade II

Let the number of persons entering this grade as recorded on the cards $= e_2^1 = e_1 - a_1 - b_1^1$

Let the total number entering, corrected to allow for those still in Grade I who will live to enter Grade II $= e_2$

Let the number recorded as now alive in Grade II $= a_2$

Let the number recorded as having already died in Grade II $= b_2^1$

Let the number of dead corrected as above $= b_2$

Let the proportion of entrants normally expected to die $= p_2$

D $e_2 = e_1 - b_1$ (see C)

E $b_2 = e_2 p_2$

F where $p_2 = \frac{b_2^1}{e_2^1 - \frac{a_2}{2}}$, arrived at by the same method as

formula B.

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- The proportion of entrants into Grade I who die before
 G passing out of Grade II, $p_{1-2} = \frac{b_1 + b_2}{e_1}$
 H The number (corrected) passing on to Grade III
 $= e_1 - b_1 - b_2$

For Grade III

- Let the number of persons entering the grade as recorded
 on the cards $= e_3^1 = e_1 - a_1 - a_2 - b_1^1 - b_2^1$
 Let the number entering, corrected for those now in
 Grades I and II who will live to enter Grade III $= e_3$
 Let the number recorded as now alive in Grade III $= a_3$
 Let the number recorded as having died in Grade III $= b_3^1$
 Let the number of dead corrected as above $= b_3$
 Let the proportion of entrants normally expected to die $= p_3$
 I $e_3 = e_1 - b_1 - b_2$ (see H)
 i.e. $e_3 = e_3^1 - b_2$
 J $b_3 = e_3 p_3$
 K where $p_3 = \frac{b_3^1}{e_3^1 - \frac{a_3}{2}}$ (see B₂ and F)

The proportion of entrants into Grade I who die before

- L passing out of Grade III, $p_{1-3} = \frac{b_1 + b_2 + b_3}{e_1}$
 M The number (corrected) passing on to Grade IV
 $= e_1 - b_1 - b_2 - b_3$

For Grade IV

- Let the number of persons entering the grade as recorded
 on the cards $= e_4^1$
 $= e_1 - a_1 - a_2 - a_3 - b_1^1 - b_2^1 - b_3^1$
 Let the number of entrants, corrected for those now in
 Grades I-III who will live to enter Grade IV $= e_4$
 Let the number recorded as now alive in Grade IV $= a_4$
 Let the number recorded as having died in Grade IV $= b_4^1$
 Let the number of dead corrected as above $= b_4$

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Let the proportion of entrants normally expected to die = p_4

$$e_4 = e_1 - b_1 - b_2 - b_3 \quad (\text{see M})$$

i.e. $e_4 = e_3 - b_3$

$$b_4 = e_4 p_4$$

where $p_4 = \frac{b_4^1}{e_4^1 - \frac{a_4}{2}}$ (see B, F and K)

The proportion of entrants into Grade I who die before passing out of Grade IV, $p_{1-4} = \frac{b_1 + b_2 + b_3 + b_4}{e_1}$

The number (corrected) passing on to Grade V
 $= e_1 - b_1 - b_2 - b_3 - b_4$

By applying this method the following table was compiled.

TABLE VII

NUMBER OF CHILD DEATHS IN DIFFERENT AGE-GRADES PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS

Age-grades of Women.	I. Under 6 Months.	II. 6 Months to Weaning.	III. Weaning to 7 Years.	IV. 7 Years to Puberty.	Total-Child Mortality.
Under 20 .	272	—	—	—	—
20—30 .	250	126	—	—	—
30—50 .	271	113	94	50	528
Over 50 .	232	138	127	38	535

It is impossible to draw any conclusions from these figures without first considering their reliability and the question of experimental error in recording the data. The figures of the above table are based on the statements of the mothers, who described as best they could but at times not too clearly the stage their child had reached when it died. Often there was no doubt: the child had only lived a few days, or it was but recently weaned, or it was a girl nearly reaching puberty with her breasts just growing, or it was a grown man who left behind him a wife and family. But in other cases the issue was not so clear, particularly with regard to the division between Grades I and II, as we pointed out in Section I, and that between Grades III and IV. Undoubtedly a cer-

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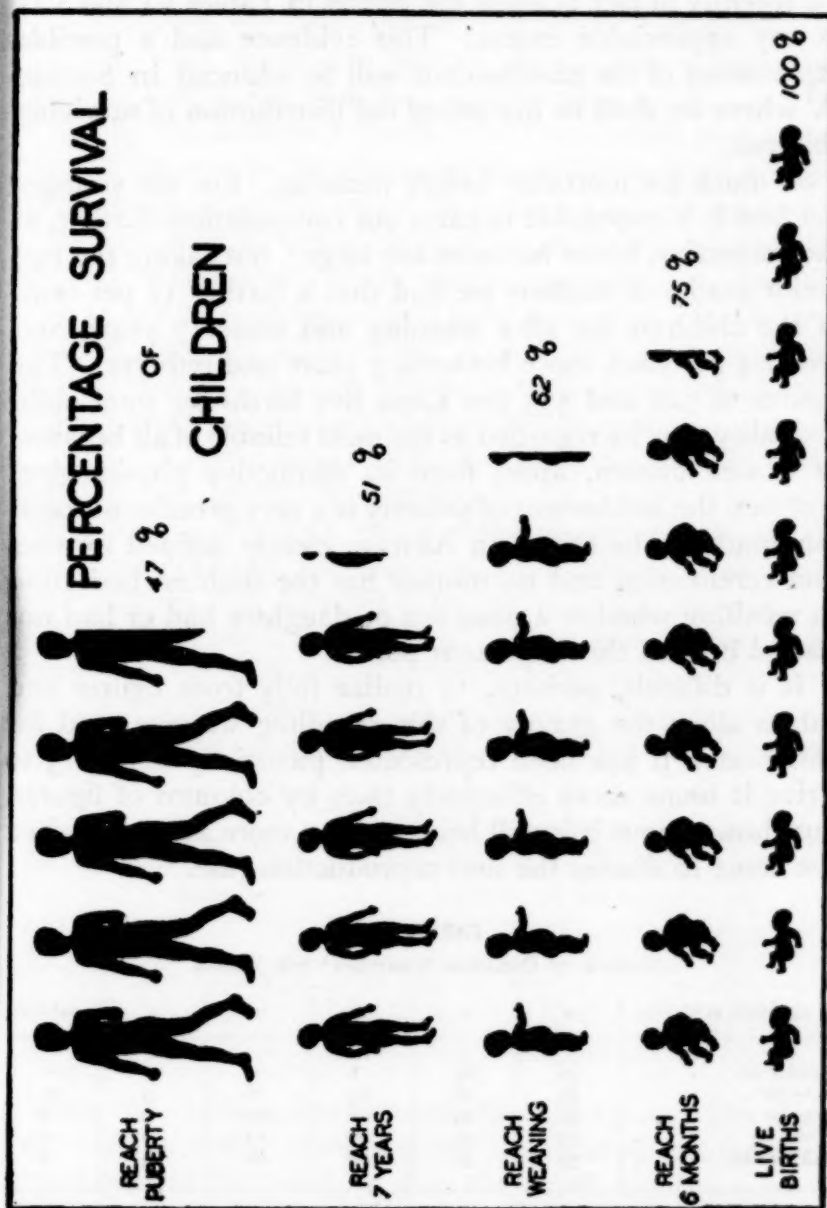
tain proportion of deaths occurring in these grades have been confused and, for instance, babies recorded as dying in Grade II were in fact babies in arms, but nearly passing into Grade II, while others who were on the border-line but should actually have been classed as Grade II were entered in Grade I.

For this reason we do not propose to make too much of variations within any given column of Table VII, e.g. the disparity between 271 and 232 in Grade I, more especially as it may be observed that the variations in Grades I and II are complementary. We will, therefore, merely conclude that roughly 25 per cent. of the children born are lost during the first six months and about 13 per cent. more die between that age and weaning, bringing the total wastage of child life before weaning to approximately 38 per cent.

We do, however, seem justified in taking the total death rate before weaning (i.e. Grades I and II together) as reasonably reliable, and in comparing the rates for the different age-grades of mothers. It then appears that nothing in the figures indicates any improvement in the situation during the thirty odd years here represented, for the young mothers of 20-30 show a rate of 376 per 1,000 live births as against 384 and 370 for their elders. And it may well be added that for the youngest mothers of all (under 20), for whom nothing further than Grade I can be calculated, we have the high figure of 272. This is, however, perhaps hardly comparable with the figures given for the other grades of mothers, owing to the fact that in the case of these youngest women we are dealing almost entirely with first children, among whom mortality is considerably higher than among subsequent children. A count of the cards shows that of 1,000 first babies born 423 die before weaning, as against 354 per 1,000 for subsequent children, an increase of 19 per cent.

It deserves mention, however, that there is some evidence to suggest a decline in infant mortality in very recent years,

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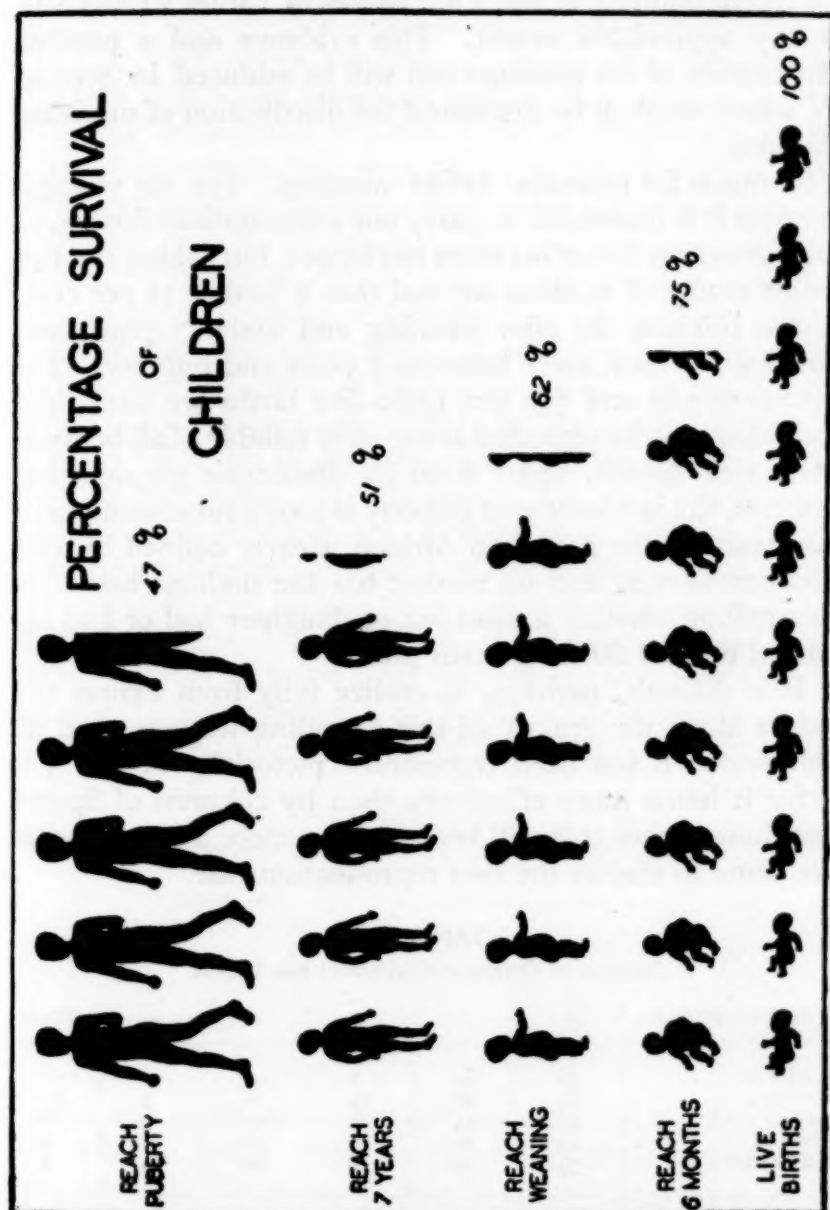
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too recently in fact to affect the figures in Tables VI and VII to any appreciable extent. This evidence and a possible explanation of the phenomenon will be adduced in Section IV where we shall be discussing the distribution of surviving children.

So much for mortality before weaning. For the younger mothers it is impossible to carry our computations further, as the correction factor becomes too large; but taking the two senior grades of mothers we find that a further 11 per cent. of the children die after weaning and under 7 years, and about 4 per cent. more between 7 years and puberty. The figures of 528 and 535 per 1,000 live births for total child mortality may be regarded as the most reliable of all because, as is well known, apart from its distinctive physiological features, the attainment of puberty is a very prominent social landmark in the life of an African, clearly defined by rites and ceremonies, and no mother has the slightest hesitation in recalling whether a dead son or daughter had or had not passed beyond this important point.

It is difficult, perhaps, to realize fully from figures and tables alone the gravity of this appalling wastage, and for this reason it has been represented pictorially in Fig. 3 to drive it home more effectively than by columns of figures. Just how serious it is will become even more apparent when we come to discuss the nett reproduction rate.

TABLE VIII
NUMBER OF CHILDREN SURVIVING ¹ PER WOMAN

Age-grades of Women.	0	1	2	3	4	5 and over.
Under 20 . . .	36	63	1	—	—	—
20—30 . . .	35	28	24	10	3	—
30—50 . . .	40	25	18	12	3	2
Over 50 . . .	29	30	20	12	7	2
All Grades . . .	35	32	18	10	4	1

(Percentage of Women.)

¹ Note the definition given in Section I of *survivors* as children now alive or who died after reaching adult life.

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IV. THE DISTRIBUTION OF SURVIVING CHILDREN

Table VIII shows the present distribution of surviving children among the women of various age-grades.

Taking the series as a whole, it will be noticed that 35 per cent. of the women have no surviving children at all nor any who reached adult life before they died, a fact whose significance can only be appreciated when we remember that the number of unmarried adult women is negligible. Further, only 15 per cent. of the women have more than two children living or who died when adult. It is therefore not surprising to find that the families represented in our series show a ratio of children to adults of only 40 per cent.

Table IX shows the age distribution of the children under puberty now alive, the constant K for each grade being calculated by dividing the percentage of children in the respective grade by the length of the grade in years. It is here assumed that weaning takes place at $2\frac{1}{2}$ years and that puberty is reached at 13 years. This constant gives a far better measure of distribution than do the bare percentages, because it is independent of the length of the particular grade and hence the values are directly comparable.

TABLE IX
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF LIVING CHILDREN UNDER PUBERTY

Age-grade.	Percentage of Children.	K.
I. Birth to 6 Months	5.8	11.6
II. 6 Months to Weaning	22.2	11.1
III. Weaning to 7 years	31.2	72.0 } 6.9
IV. 7 Years to Puberty	40.8	

Now the dividing line between Grades III and IV is not very easy to define when dealing with people who do not keep count of the years, so that the small difference in K for these two grades need not be discussed. But the boundary between Grades II and III is easier to discover—a child

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quite definitely is or is not weaned—though the age of weaning may vary a little either way. Again, it is not difficult to find out, with the aid of reference to the seasons and so on, whether a living child is over or under six months, so that the grading of the living babies is very much more likely to be accurate than that of babies who died perhaps many years ago. Thus the proportions of the younger grades in Table IX will bear further examination.

Considering the heavy losses sustained in Grade I, K for that group is low, while for Grade II it is high both in relation to Grade I and in relation to the subsequent grades combined. This abnormal distribution can only be accounted for in one of two ways. Either there must have been a sudden dying off of children under six months on such a scale as could not possibly have escaped notice, or fertility must suddenly have dropped. The first did not occur, and we are left with the second alternative which is not so startling as at first sight it may appear.

In 1935 an intensive propaganda campaign was undertaken to try and persuade mothers not to feed very young infants on solid foods. On various grounds it was thought to have had considerable success, and the idea of breast-feeding alone during the early months was believed to have obtained a real hold at least in the main centres of population and to be spreading. This curious age-distribution of living children would appear to be the first-fruits of that campaign. The diminution in the loss of life among babies under six months old meant a temporary drop in fertility, because the babies saved went on into the later stages of the suckling period and the conception of their successors was accordingly postponed. By the time the main part of the field-work of this investigation was being done, a certain number of infants who would ordinarily have died would already have been replaced by others, and the replacing infants would have been swelling the ranks of Grade I.

In due course, however, the present disequilibrium should

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cease and fertility should rise again as the mothers concerned are released from the taboos imposed during the suckling of a child, but it may reasonably be hoped that the more sensible method of infant-feeding will prove itself to be well and truly established, and that the mortality rate will therefore remain at a somewhat lower figure than has prevailed in the past.

Another interesting fact disclosed by Table IX is that over 40 per cent. of the children under 13 years old are of school age, and for the Kiberege Division as a whole this means a school-age population of something in the neighbourhood of 8,000 boys and girls. About 160 of the 8,000 at present attend Government and Native Authority schools, which is to say that Government and the Native Authorities between them provide (primary) educational facilities for one child out of every fifty between 7 and 13 years old. How many of the other forty-nine attend mission schools we do not know.

V. THE BALANCE OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS AND THE NETT REPRODUCTION RATE

The ultimate fate of any population depends on the balance of births and deaths. We make no apology for this platitude because its implications are so often overlooked that it badly needs reiterating. It is all too easy to slip into the error of arguing that if a population is increasing all must be well, and of thinking that periodic counts of the total population are all that is necessary for governmental purposes. It is often not sufficiently appreciated that a people may be increasing rapidly in numbers and yet be on the road to extinction.

In many parts of the world medical science has prolonged the average span of life and considerable natural increase has resulted, but this does not necessarily influence the ultimate trend in population; in fact, it can only do so provided the persons saved are still capable of reproduction.

The only sure test as to whether a given population is

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reproducing itself or not is to determine how many children survive to reach adult life and so to replace their parents. For unless on an average every woman leaves behind her at death at least one adult daughter, the tribe or nation must eventually diminish in numbers, no matter how great the immediate but temporary increase may be as a consequence of increased longevity.

Our data show that on the average 1,000 women now over 50 years old bore 3,130 children, and since the numbers of boys and girls born are roughly equal¹ this means 1,565 girls. Now the total child mortality rate for this age-grade of women is 535 per 1,000 live births, so that of these 1,565 girls 838 would die as children, leaving 727 to reach puberty. In other words, the nett reproduction rate is only $\cdot 73$ ² and 27 per cent. of the women of this age-grade will not be replaced. The position is actually worse than this, because some of the 727 who reach puberty will die young before reproducing themselves.

Nor is this, bad as it is, the whole picture. The figure $\cdot 73$ only refers to the old women recorded on our cards, who all stayed the course and passed right through the reproductive period of life. Thus they are a sample selected for longevity,³ and for their generation as a whole we have to postulate an even lower nett reproduction rate to take into account the many women who died at a younger age, before they had finished child-bearing, and who thus reduced the average fertility of their generation. We have, however, no data to give us any indication of what the true figure should be, and we shall therefore use $\cdot 73$ as the basis of the following discussion, with the qualification that it certainly errs on the side of optimism.

We find, then, that 27 per cent. of the present old grade of

¹ For the district as a whole.

² A population is increasing when its nett reproduction rate is over unity, and declining when it is less.

³ The same applies in varying degree to the other grades too, but most markedly to this one.

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women will not be replaced, so that when those persons saved by the increase in the expectation of life do eventually die, and increase from that cause no longer occurs, as it cannot for more than a limited time, the population will diminish at the alarming rate of at least 27 per cent. in each generation unless conditions change. That is the only conclusion to be drawn from the life-histories of the old women.

We do not find anything to encourage a more optimistic view regarding the women now aged 30-50. The child mortality rate for the grade is just as high as that for the old women, while the distribution fertility curve (Fig. 2) is far from encouraging. Twenty per cent. of the women have had no children at all, though practically all have been married for periods ranging from 15 to 35 years, and 18 per cent. have only borne one child in that time. In fact, the curve is typical of a group of low fertility, so that we seem to have no grounds for hoping that these women will produce any more children than have those who are now over 50 years old. When we turn to their surviving children (Table VIII) we find an equally sorry picture, for 40 per cent. of them have at the moment no surviving child at all, and 25 per cent. have only one.

We therefore conclude that since the beginning of this century, if not before, the nett reproduction rate in the Ulanga Valley has until recently been in the neighbourhood of $\cdot 73$, and that even if there has been an increase¹ in total population it has been spurious, in that it has been brought about by prolonging the average span of life and has thus masked the inevitability of an ultimate decline in numbers, at the rate of 27 per cent. per generation or more, unless the nett reproduction rate rises in the near future.

When we come to examine the curve for the distribution of fertility for the age-grade 20-30, the chances of stemming this decline appear to be greater. The curve is perfectly

¹ German maps show a far greater number of villages than now exist, and thus provide a piece of corroborative evidence for the view that the population has actually declined.

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normal. For a young age-grade the figure of 19 per cent. childless women is not high. There is a good peak for women with two children which will probably move along towards the large family end of the curve. The figure for women with three children is already higher than that for the age-grade 30-50, while 8 per cent. have had four children. It appears, in short, that at last fertility is increasing.

The question then arises: Is it increasing sufficiently? It is impossible to say on the data at present available, but it may be worth while considering what degree of improvement would be required to reverse the present trend of population in this district.

In order that the total population may remain constant, either the fertility rate must be higher than in the past or the child mortality rate lower, or a combination of the two must be achieved.

Let us for the moment assume that the child mortality rate remains at 535, the figure for the age-grade of over 50 years. Then if numbers are to be maintained every 1,000 girls who enter adult life¹ would have to bear 2,150 girl children, of whom 1,150 would die in childhood, leaving 1,000 to replace their mothers. To achieve this, the total fertility must rise to approximately 4,300 live births per 1,000 women, an increase of 37 per cent. on that of (our selected sample of) the present generation of old women.

If, however, fertility were to remain constant at the level of that generation, i.e. 3,130, then the child mortality would have to drop at least 33 per cent. to 360 per 1,000 live births to avoid a fall in population.

The same effect would be produced if simultaneously fertility rose by 15 per cent. to 3,600 and child mortality fell by 17 per cent. to 445 per 1,000 live births.

We have seen that the women of the age-grade 20-30 years have made a promising start, and on their present showing

¹ Not, as in the samples we have obtained, every 1,000 long-lived women, but every 1,000 girls including those who are going to die young.

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3,600 does not seem an unreasonably high figure to hope for from them. But we must not forget that with the improvement in communications and the general opening-up of the area now taking place, there is a constant danger of increase in the incidence of venereal disease, in which case fertility might decline still further instead of rising.

Regarding the prospects of reducing child mortality, it is depressing to find that in more than forty years of European administration so little has been achieved in this field. We have pointed out in the preceding section that there is reason to think there has been some improvement in infant mortality very recently, as the result of a campaign against the feeding of solid foods to infants, but it is highly improbable, to say the least of it, that this by itself can bring about a fall of 17 per cent. in the total child mortality rate. This is only one of the many causes of death which threaten the African baby, and it would appear that the whole question of the heavy losses of infants and children urgently requires thorough investigation.

A very serious feature of the situation is the frequent occurrence of one particular type of card in the series of life-histories—a sequence of miscarriages or children lost in infancy, with possibly one or two survivors at the end. This, we have been told, is characteristic of mothers suffering from spirochaete infections, of which syphilis and especially yaws are certainly present in the district, while the spirillum tick is widespread. In this connexion, it should be noted that a campaign of B.S.T. injections some twelve years ago did much to free the population of yaws, and among the hundreds of cases now treated annually with the same injections at the Kiberege dispensary primary cases appear to be comparatively rare.

Summing up, the only conclusions to be drawn from this discussion of the balance of births and deaths are (1) that the true trend of population in the district has been downwards instead of upwards as was commonly thought from the bare

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census figures, (2) that the present younger generation of mothers has made a slightly more promising beginning, and (3) that there is immediate need of thorough investigation followed by well-planned and determined action, if the decline is to be successfully stemmed and the trend reversed.

TABLE X
SUMMARY

1 Group.	2 Number of Women.	3 Tribes.	4 Total Live Births.	5 Total Survivors.	6 % age ♂ to ♀ Live Births.	7 % age ♂ to ♀ Survivors.
A	Mchanganyi	Pogoro	270	144	109 ± 10	125 ± 14
	Mofu .	Mbunga	512	372	107 ± 6	111 ± 7.5
	Kiberege .	Mbunga	1,105	583	106.5 ± 4.5	110 ± 6
	Utengule .	Bena	766	367	105 ± 5	112 ± 7.5
	Ifakara .	(chiefly) Mbunga	866	518	100.5 ± 4	91 ± 5
B	Malinyi .	Bena	993	504	95 ± 4	93 ± 6
		Ndamba				
		Pogoro				
	Makirika .	Mbunga	322	152	90.5 ± 7.5	90 ± 9
Lupiro .	195	Mbunga	476	246	87 ± 6	92 ± 9
Total, Division A	1,177	Mbunga Bena	2,653	1,466	106.5 ± 3	112 ± 4
Total, Division B	933	Pogoro Mbunga Bena Ndamba Pogoro	2,181	1,174	95.5 ± 2.5	92 ± 3
Total, Division B, with Lupiro	1,128	Do.	2,657	1,420	93.5 ± 2	92 ± 3
Grand total	2,305	—	5,310	2,886	99.1 ± 1.8	101.6 ± 2.6
Difference A and B	—	—	—	—	11 ± 4	20 ± 5
Difference A and B, including Lupiro in B	—	—	—	—	12.5 ± 3.5	20 ± 5

VI. CONCLUSION

In the foregoing sections we have with some degree of thoroughness unfolded the story of the population of a single area, but we claim that for two reasons this investigation is

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of wider than purely local interest. In the first place, in demonstrating for one district a state of affairs which had hitherto lain hidden, it destroys any complacency which encouraging census figures may have engendered, for it may well be that similar work elsewhere, particularly in the many districts involved in the Maji-Maji Rebellion, would yield similar results. Secondly, we have demonstrated a practical method of obtaining fairly reliable and much-needed information regarding population which, we believe, cannot in present circumstances be acquired in any other way.

The most important fact we have brought to light is that, in spite of the increase shown in the census figures, for many years the population has not been reproducing itself. The census figures and our data are not necessarily incompatible, as has been explained in Section V, though had the former been accurate it seems unlikely that the low nett reproduction rate could have remained masked for so long—unless, of course, considerable immigration has passed unnoticed.

The complicating factor of migration affects the Census over most of Tanganyika Territory. Men leave one area and go into another, and though they are supposed to be included in the count of their own tribe, it is extremely difficult to ensure that this is done and that they are not counted as members of the tribe in which they are living and with which they will often after a time definitely associate themselves.

The method we have adopted here has the decided advantage of yielding results which are entirely independent of migration, being derived solely from the fertility and mortality rates. It gives us a biological measure of population as opposed to a mere count at a given moment in time, and it tells us plainly whether or not the population is reproducing itself biologically, irrespective of the factors which render the ordinary total count of the Census so unsatisfactory.

Now the Ulanga Valley is one of the most fertile parts of

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East Africa. Nevertheless it appears that for many years the nett reproduction rate has been a long way below unity, and we may well wonder whether in less-favoured districts the position is not as bad or even worse. True, a large part of the area in question suffered severely from the effects of the Maji-Maji Rebellion, but it was not alone in this, for the rising involved to a greater or less degree most of south-eastern Tanganyika, and on reading the German literature one realizes how much worse its consequences were in the drier areas than in the fertile Ulanga Valley. In any case, the doubts and queries raised by this investigation extend to districts outside as well as inside the Maji-Maji area, for we cannot assume that the appalling insufficiency of the nett reproduction rate in Ulanga (we must remember the true figure is lower than $\cdot 73$) is attributable wholly to the effects of the rebellion.

One cannot help wondering whether in the case of certain tribes the increases shown in the Census do not merely reflect improved machinery of enumeration or, if such increases actually occurred, whether they are not chiefly or even wholly due to the prolongation of life in the senior age-grades and not, therefore, to a high nett reproduction rate. The small proportion of children to adults in some of the tribes listed in the Census as having increased lends weight to the latter hypothesis, while the gradual encroachment of the tsetse fly in certain areas is suggestive concerning the former.

The whole question is so very important and our knowledge so fragmentary and inaccurate that a complete examination of the subject seems to be essential; but hitherto the difficulty of obtaining more extensive statistics has made the project appear impossible, for it has been assumed that any enlargement of the scope of the vital statistics normally collected would necessarily involve elaborate and extremely costly machinery which, even if it could be afforded, could not work satisfactorily on a large scale in the backward conditions obtaining in East Africa.

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This assumption is perfectly true regarding the collection of statistics of the orthodox pattern by methods in use in civilized countries, but it does not apply to the method here demonstrated and the more modest but still useful results obtained thereby. This method is based on the principle of random sampling, that is of studying a part of the population and arguing from the part to the whole. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that this process can only yield valid results provided the sample (1) is large enough—the calculation of probable errors helps to determine this—and (2) is truly representative of the whole at least so far as the characteristics studied are concerned.

It is a method which must be used with caution, but if its limitations are fully understood and the data are not strained to support a structure of argument beyond their capacity, it can provide us with useful results not at present to be obtained in any other way.

Perhaps its most serious drawback is that, while serving to give a fairly accurate account of how those who are now old have affected the trend of population, it tells us less and less the nearer we get to the present day (cf. Table VII). We can only know with precision what *has* happened, not what *is* happening here and now. The present position cannot be more than inferred by means of an estimate based on an extrapolation. Any sudden change in the trend of population cannot therefore be brought to light for some time after it has occurred, though occasionally an abnormal distribution curve (cf. Table IX) may indicate that something has happened which would otherwise have remained hidden for several years.

In spite of its limitations, however, this method does provide us with a good deal of valuable information which would be most costly, or even impossible, to obtain at present by other methods, and it demonstrates how by making certain reasonable assumptions and approximations the available data may be presented in a useful form.

THE ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

By S. CLEMENT BROWN

THERE are many reasons for suggesting that a study of the institution of adoption is one of special interest to the sociologist. It has probably existed in some form in every human society, and there are records of its practice in many widely differing cultures, both past and present. The customary attitudes and procedures, and their legal sanctions, offer interesting sidelights on other contemporary institutions, such as the family, religious practice and belief, and property. A study of relationships in adoptive homes shows certain recurring attitudes on the part of foster-parents and the adopted child which are themselves reflections of cultural tendencies, and which, in comparison with the relationships found in natural family life, are of particular significance for the social psychologist.

In spite of this there is curiously little information available. The literature is mainly of a descriptive kind, giving an account of custom among primitive peoples and of law and usage in ancient civilizations and in contemporary societies. Interest has centred in legal controversy rather than in the social and psychological implications of adoption. The reasons for this may themselves be significant. In our own society the actual practice is surrounded by secrecy, and it is not easy to get records of families where an adoption has been carried out unless it has been unsuccessful. For obvious reasons these records cannot present a true picture of the causes and effects of adoption. It seems worth while, however, to discuss some of the problems that arise, in the hope that more adequate studies may be made.

Distinction must first be drawn between legal adoption and other forms of permanent guardianship which are not sanctioned by law. Both forms are of interest to the sociologist, though from rather different standpoints. In the follow-

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ing discussion the word "adoption" will be taken to cover both *de facto* and *de jure* guardianship. The definition will be that which was accepted by the recent Government Report,¹ namely: "an artificial family relationship analogous to that of parent and child, which is accepted by all parties as permanent."

Legal adoption was a well-established institution in Greece and Rome, and Roman Law had an important influence on the legal principles which prevailed in Europe, though, curiously enough, not until recently, in England. It is in India, however, that adoption has been most widely practised, and had apparently led to the most extensive legal controversy.² In Hindu culture a man's happiness, both in this life and the next, depended upon having a continuous line of male descendants, who were under obligation to carry out obsequies if there were no legitimate heir: "a son of any description must be anxiously adopted by one who has none, for the sake of the funeral cake, water and solemn rites, and for the celebrity of his name." Mayne states that "the probability is that a sonless Hindu will contemplate adoption, and this probability is increased if he is advanced in years, or sickly; if he has property to leave behind, as regards which he would naturally wish for a lineal successor; and, still more, if, from family dissensions, the person who would otherwise be his successor is a person who he would not be likely to desire." The Bengal Courts even upheld the capacity of a leper to adopt, provided he had performed the necessary expiation so that he could take part in the religious ceremony.

There could hardly be a greater contrast between this view of adoption and that which is embodied in our own law and practice. Here adoption is comparatively rare, even among childless couples, and children of both sexes are

¹ *Report of the Departmental Committee on Adoption Societies and Agencies.* H.M.S.O. 1937, pp. 1 and 2.

² Mayne, John D., *A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage.* Madras, Higginbotham & Co. 1916. Seventh ed., chap. v.

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in approximately equal demand. Property rights are *not* conveyed to the adopted child by law; the Court is under obligation to give primary consideration to the welfare of the child, and extreme old age or sickness would certainly be considered disqualifications.

It is interesting to find a corresponding contrast in the social attitude taken towards adoption procedure, and the social status of the adopted child. In India the procedure is commonly sanctified by religious ceremonial. There is a public giving and taking of the child in which declaration is made of the purpose of adoption. For instance: "I take thee for the fulfilment of religious duties. I take thee to continue the line of my ancestors." Distinguished families are notified of the ceremony. There is no loss of status to the adopted child; the fact of his adoption is apparently, if anything, regarded as a distinction, though it is unusual for him to alter his caste thereby. In England special provision is made for hearing such cases *in camera*. It is probably more usual than not for the adopting parents to maintain secrecy about the adoption except with a few intimate friends, and countless problems arise because of the parents' reluctance to admit to the child that he is adopted. This seems to imply that both the parent and the child lose status by the fact of adoption.

Thus there is the curious fact, that although according to Hindu law and custom, the incentives to adoption are apparently extraneous to the welfare of the child, he seems actually to have a better likelihood of social security than in a country where his rights are more widely accepted and the priority of his claims is recognized by law.¹

Even a brief comparative study serves to show how necessary it is to take into account the cultural background of an institution before attempting to understand the specific

¹ For the priority of the rights of the child in various types of legal procedure see: The Guardianship of Infants Act, 1925, Section 1; Adoption of Children Act, 1926, Section 3 (b); The Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, Section 44(1).

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social problems that arise. Yet an analysis of these specific problems can often throw light upon cultural tendencies and open up new sources of discovery. It is in this way that the case histories of family life compiled by social workers or by teams of psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers can be of the greatest interest to sociologists.¹

For the sake of understanding the social situations that are apt to arise, a brief statement of the law and practice is necessary.

In Great Britain legal adoption has only existed since 1926, and the number still probably represents only about a third of the total adoptions carried out. Legal adoptions have risen from about 3,000 in 1927 to 5,000 in 1936. The number of unofficial adoptions is probably in the nature of about 10,000 a year. There are thus about 15,000 adoptions carried out annually in this country.²

In unofficial adoptions the child has no special protection whatever, provided the real parents make no payment for his maintenance. The obligations of the foster-parent towards him are no more than the obligations of any adult towards any child for whose care he is responsible. Individuals who adopt without the sanction of the Court have neither special rights nor special obligations. The child's real parent can remove him at any time.

The Law of 1926 provided for Adoption Orders to be granted through any one of three Courts: the Juvenile Court of Summary Jurisdiction, the County Court, and the High Court (Chancery Division). About 90 per cent. of the cases are in fact heard in the Juvenile Court, where presiding magistrates are specially selected for the hearing of children's cases. In each case provision is made for private hearings.

¹ The illustrations used in the following pages are based upon records of a Child Guidance Clinic. Acknowledgements are due to Miss S. A. Abley and Miss M. Wright, who made studies of adoption cases part of their work for the Mental Health Certificate at the London School of Economics.

² *Report of the Departmental Committee on Adoption Societies and Agencies*, p. 4.

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Various general rules are laid down governing the decision of the Court.

The adopter must be aged at least twenty-five, and, unless a close relative,¹ at least twenty-one years older than the child, who must be a minor. There may be joint adoption by husband and wife, and in any case if one of the married couple applies for the adoption order, the other must give consent. A man may not adopt a girl, except under special circumstances. The adopter must be resident and domiciled in Great Britain, though not necessarily of British nationality.

The Court must satisfy itself of certain facts before granting an Adoption Order. The consent of the natural parent must be obtained, though he or she need not be present in Court. In the form which the natural parents are called upon to sign they must state that they are willing to be permanently deprived of paternal rights. No payment may be made without the sanction of the Court.

Since the Court is under obligation to see that the order will be "for the welfare of the infant" and must, in accordance with his age and understanding, take the child's own wishes into account, certain provisions are made for supplying the Bench with information and for giving temporary protection to the child. A guardian *ad litem* must be appointed to undertake the responsibility of making inquiries, and to act temporarily in the capacity of legal parent. This guardian may be an individual or an organization, and in point of fact is often the local education authority. The Court may make what is called an *interim order* for a period not exceeding two years, but in fact seldom does so.²

The figures show that by the time the applications for

¹ i.e. "within the prohibited degree of consanguinity." See Adoption of Children Act, 1926, Section 2 (b).

² In the first year of the administration of the Adoption of Children Act—the only year for which there are statistics for the country as a whole, less than 3 per cent. of the cases heard were subject to interim orders. This does not show, however, that there has been no trial period for the child in adopting homes, for petitions are often sought after the child has made his home with the foster-parent.

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adoption are brought to Court, an extremely small proportion of them are regarded as unsuitable. In the course of one year the High Court did not refuse any petitions, the County Court refused only one, and the Juvenile Court 1·6 per cent.

The Adoption Order has the effect of transferring to the adoptive relationship all the rights, duties, obligations, and liabilities pertaining to the natural relationship of parent and child, with the important exception of the inheritance of property. The child maintains the rights of inheritance under intestacy or disposition belonging to him as a member of his own family, and, for the purposes of bequest, he does not rank as a child of the adopter.

There are no annual figures published relating to the legal adoption of children. The only figures available relate to the first year after the passing of the Act (1927-8)¹ which are not likely to be typical. A sample of 200 London cases² of the current year may perhaps give a truer picture of the kinds of legal adoption that are being carried out at the present time.

Both these sets of figures show that the child is, in the very large majority of cases, adopted by married couples (about 85 per cent. in the country as a whole, 93 per cent. in the London sample). Even this figure is lower than the real facts of the case would show, since it is a record, not of the proportion of adopters who are married, but only of those who adopt *jointly*. Actually in the London sample only 2·5 per cent. of the children were adopted by unmarried women—a figure which disposes of a rather widespread belief that lonely spinsters are in the habit of adopting children. About the same proportion were adopted by widows.

There are no figures in the country as a whole as to the age at which people adopt children. In the London sample the

¹ *Home Office Report of the Work of the Children's Branch*, 1928, pp. 79-84.

² I am indebted for these to Mr. A. C. L. Morrison, formerly Chief Clerk of the Metropolitan Juvenile Courts, and to Mr. L. G. Banwell, the present Chief Clerk.

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most usual age of adopters is between 30 and 39 (43 per cent.). One quarter of the adopting parents are between the age of 40 and 49, and roughly one-sixth are respectively below 29 and over 50.

It appears, therefore, as though children are most usually adopted into the homes of married couples of child-bearing age.

It is of particular interest to know whether adoptions take place chiefly in childless homes. In about two-thirds of the London sample the adoptive parents were childless, and in one-third there was at least one other child. It has been estimated that the proportion of childless wives in England and Wales in 1911 was 16.6 per cent.,¹ so that it seems clear that the absence of natural children is an important reason for adoption.

With regard to the child adopted, the most important single fact is that in the large majority of cases they are the children of unmarried parents. A few of these parents adopt their own children. The London figures show that 79 per cent. of the children adopted are illegitimate; the corresponding figure for England and Wales in 1928 was 66 per cent.

The psychological problems that arise are likely to be very much influenced by the age of the child when he is adopted. In the country as a whole about a quarter of the children were less than two years old, and only one-tenth over the age of fourteen. In the London sample roughly one-third are below two, one-third between two and six, and one-third older than six. In this group also, only about one-tenth were over the age of fourteen.

In the small London sample there is an interesting disparity between the age of adoption of boys and girls which might be worth further investigation. A considerably larger proportion of boys appear to be adopted before the age of two (45

¹ Kuczynski, R. R., "Childless Marriages," *The Sociological Review*, vol. xxx, No. 2, April 1938, p. 130.

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per cent. boys, 29 per cent. girls). In London a slightly larger proportion of girls of all ages are adopted, which may of course be partly due to the proportion of girls available for adoption. One large Adoption Society in London complains, in an Annual Report, of a shortage of boys in meeting the demands of would-be adoptive parents. A branch of the same Society in the Midlands complained of shortage in the supply of girls.

It would be worth while, though admittedly difficult, to investigate the reasons for the adoption of children of different sex and age. Boys are more subject to illness in early childhood, but in view of the fact that they are probably adopted at a younger age, this does not seem to be an important consideration for foster-parents, or, if it is, the influence is offset by other factors.

It has been pointed out already that legal adoptions probably represent only about one-third of the adoptions which, in the sense of the definition, actually take place. Our information about these unofficial adoptions comes from the reports of Adoption Societies, and the Government investigation, which has already been quoted.

The increase in the total number of Societies arranging adoptions is one fact which gave rise to the appointment of the Departmental Committee on Adoption Societies and Agencies in 1936. It was stated in this Report that "There have doubtless been adoption agents, using the term in a broad sense, as long as there has been adoption, but the adoption societies are mainly of recent origin. The causes of their development are a matter for the social historian, and it is difficult to disentangle cause and effect. On the one hand, it no doubt reflected the changing attitude towards illegitimate children, which constitute the majority of adopted children; on the other (*sic*) a natural consequence of the growing demand for children for adoption was the appearance of societies formed with the object of bringing together prospective adopters and parents anxious for one

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reason or another to be relieved of the responsibility for the upbringing of their own children.”¹

In trying to account for the apparent increase in the number of adoptions it must be borne in mind that the post-war period has been characterized both by rapid growth of the social services and by some attempt at “rationalization.” It seems highly probable that the development of adoption societies and the increase in their cases represent the growth and systematizing of a social institution rather than a change of custom. Large numbers of unofficial adoptions were probably carried out before the existence of organized channels for bringing about the exchange of unwanted children.

The growth of the institution is itself, however, a matter of interest. Agencies must have come into existence because of a special demand, and their support by voluntary contribution reflects a growing recognition of the value of providing a medium of exchange.

It seems likely that the growth of this institution is connected in some way with three main social tendencies.

(1) *The Falling Birth-rate*

It has already been noted that a large proportion of these children are adopted into childless homes of parents of child-bearing age. The decline of fertility may have given an increased value to those children who are born.²

(2) *The Change of Attitude towards Illegitimacy*

The most impressive evidence of this is the marked decrease in infant mortality amongst illegitimate children, compared with the decrease among legitimate children. This suggests that members of the community are less in-

¹ *Report of the Departmental Committee on Adoption Societies and Agencies*, H.M.S.O., 1937 pp. 4 and 5.

² I am indebted to Mr. David V. Glass for the following figures:

In 1870/72 each woman bore about 4.78 children, if she lived through the age-group 15-50 years.

In 1930/32 the number was only 1.90.

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fluenced by the circumstances of a child's birth in making provision for its welfare.¹

The change of attitude may, however, affect the growth of adoption in two ways. Increased tolerance towards the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child has made for greater possibilities of preserving the natural relationship. There is less willingness on the part of some agencies to separate mother and child, and the fact that the unmarried parent can, and quite frequently does, carry out a legal adoption of his or her own child, is significant.

(3) *The Growing Dissatisfaction with Institutional Upbringing for Children*

There is no lack of evidence for the stress that has been laid, during the post-war years, upon the need of each child for the intimacy and security of family life. Legislation for children, and public expenditure in its administration, has made increasing provision for foster-home care as an alternative to placement in residential Homes and Schools. To quote one illustration only: the Children Act of 1933 laid down that, unless there were exceptional circumstances, no child of under ten was to be sent to a Home Office Approved School by the Juvenile Court.²

Many local authorities have adopted a similar policy for children who come within the scope of public assistance. A considerable number of adoptions is actually arranged by

¹ The Registrar-General did not distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate infant mortality rates before 1906. In earlier periods figures are only given occasionally. The following figures are illustrations of the comparative proportions:

Death of infants under one year per 1,000 live births

	<i>Legitimate</i>	<i>Illegitimate</i>
1875 . .	205	418
1906 . .	127	261
1910 . .	102	195
1931 . .	64	111
1936 . .	57	88

² Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, Section 44 (2).

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local authorities.¹ A certain proportion of these appear to arise from what were initially temporary foster-home placements. In the London sample already quoted three illegitimate children were adopted by foster-mothers under whose care they had been placed by the local authority. There is a certain advertisement value in the successful fostering of children.

There are three other main types of agents undertaking this work. The first and most important, from the standpoint of numbers, are the adoption societies, existing solely for this purpose. The second are the voluntary Homes and other organizations which occasionally arrange adoptions, though this is not part of their regular work. The third consists of private persons.

Perhaps the main point of interest in the work carried out by these societies is the great variety in principle and practice. Some of them claim to make a very thorough study of the child and the adopting parents; they have Homes for the observation of the children, case committees for consultation, and regular trial periods of several months before the adoption, whether legalized or not, is made final. Others are satisfied, in some cases at any rate, with the mere exchange of correspondence and the handing over of the child to the individual who applies for it. From the psychological point of view there is nothing which pretends to more than the satisfaction of personal preferences and a trial and error method. None of the chief adoption societies in 1936 had a trained social worker or psychologist on the staff. In a few cases there was no home visit or even interview with the adopting parents. A case was discovered, for instance, in which a child was handed over to an adopting "mother" at a railway station, without any previous contact. The husband was described by letter as a baker, earning £150 a year,

¹ The most active local authority in this respect is the London County Council. Between the years 1930 and 1936 the Council was responsible for seventy-two completed adoptions.

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and had a clergyman's reference. As a result of complaints received about the handling of the child, it was subsequently found that the man had been unemployed for some years, and that he took the child round with him as an object of pity, whilst he hawked produce stolen from allotments.¹

It is clear from the Departmental Committee Report that the records studied contained so much evidence of failure to fulfil the ordinary standards of child care that the finer points of psychological relationship were hardly considered. The concept of suitability from a psychological standpoint seems to have begun and ended with the need for a Wassermann test of the child, and the elimination of mental defectives.

Some light is thrown on the motives for adoption by the methods of advertising used by private agents. Mrs. A., for instance, was found to have acted as an intermediary in nine adoptions in respect of which applications were received for adoption orders by the Juvenile Court. The following are instances of the advertisements inserted in the press:

"I's a lovely baby boy. I'm lonely and sad without mummy or daddy to make me glad. Will anyone adopt me? Write Box . . ."

"Adoption—beautiful blue-eyed boy wishes to be adopted where he could give love in return for parents and home. Write Box . . ."

Mrs. A. was found to have received large sums of money, and appears to have made a living out of arranging adoptions.

The records of Child Guidance Clinics show that there is certainly a larger proportion of adopted children referred to such clinics than would be expected from the proportion of children adopted in the general population. It would not be safe to assume from this fact alone either that there are more problems among adopted children than among children

¹ *Report of the Departmental Committee on Adoption Societies and Agencies*, p. 12.

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living with their own parents, or that the fact of adoption is the main cause of their problems. It seems likely that foster-parents tend more readily to seek the advice of such a clinic. Many natural parents hesitate to do so, since they are often sceptical that scientific study provides greater wisdom than the "instinct" of parenthood. In the case of adoption this particular objection would have a rather different significance. Again, it has to be remembered that the adopted child, because of its eligibility for adoption, is likely, by reason of its biological and social heritage, to suffer from certain handicaps. It has already been pointed out that a large proportion of these children are illegitimate, and that the illegitimate child is still exposed to greater risks in infancy than the child whose parents are married. The case studies of clinics cannot, therefore, present conclusive evidence of the success or failure of adoption. They can, however, provide interesting illustrations of some of the psychological and social problems that occur where artificial family relationships are brought about.

Individual motives for adoption are found to have certain characteristic results in the personal relationship of foster-parent and child. In the two studies already referred to,¹ five main *deliberate* motives have been discovered:

- (1) Financial gain.
- (2) Childlessness—whether through lack of fertility, fear of childbirth, or the death of children.
- (3) Companionship for only child.
- (4) Philanthropy—pity for the homeless child.
- (5) Desire for parenthood on the part of unmarried individuals.

(1) FINANCIAL GAIN

Enough has already been said to indicate that this motive is by no means absent in some cases of adoption, and it is not difficult to find illustrations of this in child guidance

¹ See p. 47.

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records. It seems unlikely, however, that a very large proportion of adoptions are arranged for purely commercial motives. This motive is more easy to recognize, and is therefore perhaps of less interest to the sociologist. It is also comparatively simple to control, and is likely to be gradually eliminated if the recommendations of the Departmental Committee are carried out.

(2) CHILDLESSNESS

That this is an important motive has already been suggested by the figures quoted. The effects can only be understood through a study of the constellation of family relationships.

The relationship of husband and wife, where conception is desired but has not taken place, is apt to be one of emotional strain. Consciously or unconsciously, feelings of guilt are likely to develop, and to find their outlet in a projection of blame. The adopted child is sought as a solution not only of rational desires for parental responsibility, companionship, and the widening of interests, but also for emotional reassurance, reparation, and the solution of conflict. Thus the relationship with the child tends at the outset to be complicated by an access of feeling which may have no correspondence with his real needs. If the child himself fails to meet the demands made upon him, the conflicts are intensified and he suffers not only the handicaps of his position but the burden of his foster-parents' anxiety.

Perhaps the simplest outcome of this emotional tension is the failure to give the child spontaneous affection, or even the expression of positive antagonism. In the following case the conflict between the parents expressed in hostility towards the child was complicated by the fact that the foster-mother apparently used the adoption to compensate for her own feeling of humiliation as the child of unmarried parents.

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Case 1. E— B—. Girl. Aged 6. Superior intelligence. Referred to Child Guidance Clinic as being unmanageable and incontinent in school.

The illegitimate child of a war widow, who got rid of her as soon as possible for fear of losing her pension. Mother advertised in the newspaper and was said to have paid £5 to the adoptive parents.

Adoptive "Mother." Aged 27. Irish. Good appearance, intelligent, reliable. The only illegitimate child in a family of six children. Had a hard childhood, being reproached by her relatives for illegitimacy. Left home for domestic service at an early age, and married at 17. A year after marriage was examined at hospital and told she would not be able to have children. Had high standards of living, and her husband, a relatively unintelligent man, unable to maintain these standards.

E— B—, adopted in infancy, became a pert, self-assertive child, easily distractable, aggressive, and destructive. Difficult behaviour appeared to be aggravated by the adoptive mother's anxiety to "keep up appearances." The parents maintained that E— was the cause of their disagreements. Quarrels between them were, however, just as marked during a temporary placement of the child in another home. The parents swung between a desire to get rid of her and refusal to let her go.

In some cases it appears that the sense of failure and frustration engendered by childlessness results in over-compensation, and the adopted child is subjected to too much solicitude and management. The emotional drive determining this attitude is so strong that it is difficult for the adoptive parents to profit from ordinary guidance in the upbringing of children.

Case 2. M— R—. Boy. Aged 13. Superior intelligence. (Scholar.) Referred by Headmaster of Secondary School, on account of long series of petty thefts.

The illegitimate child of a girl of 17. Adopted in infancy.

Adoptive parents elderly at the time of his adoption. Brought him up with meticulous care. Always harping upon the sacrifices they had undergone for the sake of the boy, and saying that his disgrace would break their hearts. At home he was a "model boy," and it appeared that the stealing was to some extent the outcome of the rigidity of his upbringing and the tension at home.

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Over-solicitude is the natural result of an adoption following upon the death of the foster-parent's own child.

Case 3. W— O—. Boy. Aged 12. Average intelligence and satisfactory school record. Referred to Child Guidance Clinic by his adoptive mother for lying and stealing at home.

Adoptive parents Roman Catholic. W— said by foster-mother to have been adopted to make up for a child who had died. She spoke of her sister's "three fine boys," and seemed to feel herself a failure because she had not been able to rear a son of her own. Was extremely indulgent to W., buying him expensive toys, while she added to the family income by office cleaning. Stated that she never punished the boy, but it appeared that she constantly nagged and upbraided him with his failure to respond to her excessive affection. She said "he idolised me," whilst reporting that he had stolen from her purse considerable sums of money, and sold all her cherished books at a second-hand stall. The Headmaster stated that W. was well-behaved at school, and that his difficult behaviour occurred only in relation to his adoptive mother.

(3) COMPANIONSHIP FOR ONLY CHILDREN OR CHILDREN OF SIMILAR AGE

Where children are adopted as companions for other children quite a different kind of problem arises. With the best will in the world it seems difficult for the parents not to feel differently towards the two children, and their very efforts to put this right may give rise to jealousy and insecurity on the part of both the adopted and the natural child. An interesting study of this situation has been made by Drawbell.¹ In this family, although the parents' own child, aged 2, had been carefully prepared for the arrival of the new baby, the parents' intense anxiety for her welfare seemed to bring about all the symptoms of jealousy they had done their best to avoid. Psychological advice was sought, not for the adopted child, but for their own child, and it took months of careful handling to bring about reassurance.

¹ Drawbell, J. W. D., *Experiment in Adoption*. Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1935, pp. 175.

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Case 4. H— W—. Boy. Aged 7½. Average intelligence. Referred to Child Guidance Clinic on account of pilfering, lying, and masturbation.

The illegitimate son of a girl of fifteen. Said to have been sickly and not expected to live in early childhood. Adopted at the age of 7½ months.

Adoptive parents. Had already two children, one aged 10, the other 1 year. The motive of the adoptive parents was said to be to prevent the younger child from being spoilt. Commercial motives seem also to have been present, since £50 was paid to the adoptive parents, who were finding it difficult to meet school fees at the time. The foster-mother only discovered the history of illegitimacy later. She showed a singular lack of responsibility towards H—, and he was left very much to his own devices. Adoptive "mother" was subjected to constant criticism about the adoption by her own parents, and became very apprehensive about H—'s inheritance. Her handling varied from neglect to extreme severity, and this was thought to account for the boy's behaviour.

Speculation about the adopted child's inheritance has some curious and interesting influences in the relationship between foster-parent and child. To attribute difficult behaviour to the sinister effects of an immoral mother or a criminal father is an easy rationalization, and seems very common. Occasionally, however, the theme of the abandoned child who turns out to be of distinguished origin can be recognized. It seems likely that the traditional myths and fairy stories, with their modern counterpart in the film, are partly responsible, though the persistence and popularity of such themes seem to point to an underlying wish seeking confirmation in terms of real life.

Case 5. I— E—. Girl. Aged 16. Dull normal intelligence. Referred to Child Guidance Clinic on account of failure to keep employment, which she always gave up on account of her health or the roughness of the work.

Adopted in infancy by childless parents in answer to a newspaper advertisement. Adoptive father a hotel porter, earning £2 10s. a week. Adoptive mother previously in domestic service.

I— was described to the Clinic by the foster-mother as "a faded lily." Both parents cherished the idea that I— was of "genteel

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birth." This idea was strengthened by her delicate appearance, in striking contrast to the sturdy build and uncultured appearance of the adoptive mother. Mrs. E—waited on her adopted daughter like a servant, and never allowed her to do any housework, or to take any responsibility at home. The relationship between the girl's attitude to work and the phantasy of the foster-parents seemed clear.

(4) PHILANTHROPY—PITY FOR THE HOMELESS CHILD

In many cultures special virtue is attributed to those who care for the abandoned child. The Jewish teaching is expressed in the Talmud: "The blessed man that doeth righteousness at all times is the man that brings up an orphan." Care and protection of the motherless child is an important obligation laid upon Christian peoples.

Reinforcing this and other motives is an anxiety which is commonly found among quite normal individuals about their own birth and the possibility of abandonment by their parents. It seems likely that the strong emotion that is aroused in most people by the figure of the deserted child is partly a reflection of this anxiety, and that in their mothering of the child they are to some extent seeking reassurance for themselves. It is a common observation that many women who take up work with deprived children have themselves suffered from a sense of deprivation.

It is difficult to separate this motive from some of the others that have been discussed, though it is perhaps likely to play an important part in the adoption of children by single women.

(5) DESIRE FOR PARENTHOOD ON THE PART OF UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

It has already been pointed out that only a very small proportion of legal adoptions are carried out on behalf of single men and women. It would be interesting to know whether a relatively large proportion of these adopters belong to the business, professional, or "leisured" classes.

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This seems likely, since the Court seldom sanctions payments for adopted children, and it would be difficult for single wage-earners to support them. The whole question of the social strata into which children are adopted is an important one, but it has been impossible to draw any reliable conclusions from the little information at present available.

It is obvious that the problems of relationship are of a very different kind where the child is adopted by single persons. It is generally held that the single woman is more liable to emotional problems than the married woman. If the child is adopted to solve the difficulty of deprived affection or loneliness, there may be a tendency to dominate his affections, and to discourage later independence. Again, it seems probable, both for social and economic reasons, that the single man or woman will not adopt until a later age than married couples. The disparity of age may then make for difficulties, and in the case of women, special problems may arise in the emotional changes of late middle age, which may affect the adolescence of the adopted child in an undesirable way.

The following case illustrates adoption by an elderly unmarried woman:

Case 6. V— P—. Girl. Aged 12. Normal intelligence. Referred to Child Guidance Clinic on account of marked fears. Said to be rude to those in authority

Illegitimate child. Nothing known of parents. Placed at birth with foster-mother, who died of T.B., when V— P— was nine months old. Was then adopted by friend of deceased foster-mother.

Adoptive mother aged 54 at time of adoption. Unmarried. Living with niece and an adopted son, then aged 6.

Adoptive mother had rigid upbringing, and had developed strong sense of authority through her responsibility for five younger siblings.

Brought V— up on same rigid lines, and was always over-anxious about her. Just before attendance at Clinic, V— had been told of her adoption, on the Head Teacher's advice, and at the Clinic she said she didn't want to lose this mother, but would like to have "a real one."

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The illustrations that have already been given throw some light upon the special difficulties arising from the motives for adoption. There are, however, many problems in this creation of artificial family relationships which can only be understood if they are looked at from the point of view of the child himself.

There is ample evidence in child guidance clinic records that one of the chief causes of disturbance in the emotional development of children of our culture is the fear that they may not be loved, or that if they are "bad" love may be withdrawn. If these anxieties are present in the phantasy life of many children whose family life is one of comparative security, it is not surprising that serious problems should arise when they have in fact been abandoned. Dr. Susan Isaacs writes: "It is possible for a real situation to approximate so closely to a primitive phantasy as to confirm the child in his belief that the world really is like that. In such cases primitive anxieties are so enormously strengthened as to lead to quite serious mental disturbance. Normally, however, these primitive phantasies are worked over and tested out against ordinary reality in an endless variety of ways, so that they gradually cease to dominate the child's appreciation of the real world and his ego development."¹ Again, "The child who is not given what others receive (whether from playmate or adult), feels this exclusion to be not merely a denial of gifts and of love but a judgment upon him, a punishment."²

It is perhaps partly in recognition of this vulnerability of the child that attempts are generally made to conceal the fact of his adoption. Yet case after case of the Clinic studies show how foolish it is to suppose that deception can be consistently maintained, or that the child is not sensitive to the subtle differences between his own position and that of other children, even if he is given no definite grounds for suspicion.

¹ Isaacs, Susan, *Social Development in Young Children*. Routledge, 1933, p. 296.

² *Ibid.*, p. 226.

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In point of fact, numbers of children are found to have discovered the fact of their adoption, through the gossip of neighbours or through the school. When legal adoption has taken place a special certificate is lodged with the Registrar-General, the natural parents' name is eliminated, and the word "Adoption" is written on the birth certificate. Cases have come to light of children who have learned of their adoption for the first time through seeing their own birth certificate at school, or hearing from a neighbour's child who got his information from the same source. When this kind of thing occurs there is a further threat to the relationships with his foster-parents which may already be strained. It is difficult to set limits upon the act of deception. As the child grows up the adoptive parents must be led into further inventions about relationships until his social life cannot be anything but chaos. In one case the illegitimate baby of a business woman was unofficially adopted by the midwife at whose nursing home the birth took place. He was brought up to call his elderly foster-parents "Mother" and "Father," and their children "Uncle" and "Aunt." His real mother, who visited him regularly, was also called "Aunt." There was an older adopted child, who had already discovered from neighbours the fact of her adoption, and was referred to as his "sister." This little boy was already being teased by school children about living in a Nursing Home (on the same road as the school), and having two different surnames. Yet in spite of this his foster-parents were unwilling to explain things to him.

Many adoptive parents hesitate to tell the child of his adoption because they are afraid that they will lose his affection. Most of them maintain at first that he has no idea of the facts, and yet, on questioning, they usually admit that he may have a suspicion of the truth. One adoptive father remarked that although the child did not know that she was adopted he felt sure that the dog knew, "because she is not the same blood as me and my wife."

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In a discussion held recently by the Medical Section of the *British Psychological Society*,¹ most of the opinions expressed were in favour of telling the child as soon as he began to show any interest in family relationships.² One or two examples were given of families in which this policy was followed, the explanation being that, whereas most people were not able to choose the children they had, those who adopted children could take the ones they loved best. In one case the fact that two children were adopted became a matter of boasting at school, and the ignominy induced by social tradition seemed to some extent to have been reversed. It is difficult to tell, however, whether the fact that it had to be discussed implied the need for reassurance. A harder matter to explain is, of course, the reason for the child's desertion by its own parents, and some people hold the view that a young child should not be called upon to tolerate the fact that his own parents had not wanted him, and that it was better to tell the child that they were dead, even if this were not true. In many cases referred to child guidance clinics when the child's problem seems partly contingent upon the mystery of his birth, the psychiatrist explains matters to the child with the sanction of the foster-parents.

SUMMARY

It has been suggested that the problems of social psychology which arise in the adoption of children can only be explained in the light of the whole culture in which the institution of adoption has grown up. Comparative accounts show that the status of both the adoptive parents and the adopted

¹ British Psychological Society (Medical Section). Symposium on *Some Problems Arising in the Adoption of Children*. 1. "The Sociological Aspect," Miss Clement Brown. 2. "Psychiatric Aspects," Dr. Lindsay Neustatter. 3. "Psychological Aspects," Mrs. E. Norman. May 25th, 1938.

² This interest is manifested at a much earlier age than many people imagine. At five years old one child who had been told that a baby in the house had been adopted was immensely interested. She was anxious to have a baby in her own family and went round saying, "Make one, buy one, 'dopt one!" In families in which there is freedom of discussion questions are likely to begin considerably younger than five.

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child varies enormously, and it is suggested that this fact must to a large extent affect the nature of the problems that arise. Although the British law insists that the welfare of the child shall be the primary consideration, social attitudes are such that his welfare is probably less assured than in cultures where adoption is more widely practised, where it involves the transfer of property rights, and receives religious as well as legal sanction.

Figures show that, in spite of the law introduced in 1926, a large number of adoptions in England and Wales are still not legalized. Those who adopt children are in the majority childless married couples of child-bearing age, and a large proportion of adopted children are illegitimate.

The number of adoptions is rapidly increasing, and this increase seems likely to be associated with the fall in the birth-rate, the changing attitude towards illegitimacy, and the recognition that the needs of young children can be met more satisfactorily in private homes than in institutions.

Adoptions are arranged by local authorities, by *ad hoc* societies, by children's agencies, and by private persons.

A study of child guidance clinic records seems to show that a larger proportion of adopted children are referred for problems than would be expected from the proportion of adopted children in the community, though this does not necessarily show that the problems are due to adoption. The motives for adoption are generally complex, but predominant *deliberate* motives appear to be the desire of childless parents for children; the desire for companions for only children or children of a given age; the expression of philanthropy—pity for the homeless child; desire for parenthood on the part of unmarried individuals, and financial gain.

Some characteristic features of these artificial family relationships are feelings of humiliation, giving rise to blame, which is sometimes displaced on to the adopted child; anxiety and compensation, which leads to over-solicitude and manage-

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ment; fear of known or unknown heredity, which leads to the rejection or the idealization of the child. From the child's point of view phantasies common in normal circumstances tend to be confirmed by the fact that he has been abandoned and that this may happen again. This source of anxiety is in the long run apt to be increased by deception, and some reassurance can be given if the question is frankly faced by the foster-parents with the adopted child at an early age.

NOTE

Since this article went to press, a Bill designed to carry out the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Adoption Societies and Agencies has passed its first reading in the House of Commons.

The main provisions of the Bill are:

- (1) To regularize the procedure of *de facto* adoption by requiring the registration of adoption societies and the notification of adoptions arranged by individuals, and to insist upon applications for adoption orders being made to a Court within a given period of time.
- (2) To enable mothers of less than twenty-five years of age to adopt their own illegitimate children, and near relatives of a child to adopt him even though there is less than twenty-one years' difference between the age of adoptive parent and child.
- (3) To prohibit the payment of money in any adoption unless legal sanction has been given.
- (4) To prohibit advertisement.
- (5) To prevent a British child from being taken abroad for adoption without a special licence.

Adoption of Children (Regulation) Bill, 2 Geo. VI., H.M.S.O. 1938.

THREE ASPECTS OF REGIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS¹

By F. W. MORGAN

THE concept of the region is familiar enough to the sociologist, and to the geographer it has become a basic part of his equipment. It gains in interest for both, however, when regarded as the expression of a tendency in European thought which has appeared in three forms in the last half-century or so. They have been the rise of the political and social movement known as "regionalism," the development of the regional concept as a technique in geography, and the emergence of the "regional novel" as a marked feature of prose fiction. These three activities have been roughly contemporaneous and have enough characteristics in common to justify the assumption that they bear some relation to each other. It is a secondary matter that the actual regions of the novelist, the geographer, and the regionalist are rarely the same: the important fact is that they are all signs of a developing consciousness of the smaller units of the earth. Paradoxically enough, as intercourse became easier during the nineteenth century men became more and more aware of the diversities within each state.

Of these three tendencies the most uneven in its development has been the political movement, known since the 1890's as "regionalism," the reaction against a centralizing and standardizing process. In the Middle Ages locality had been a fundamental unit in society—feudalism recognized the fact—and often neighbourhood came to mean more than kinship or royal authority. (1) Then were formed, around the physical diversities of soil and scenery and weather, the beginnings of all those provincialisms which still survive, "types of cottage roofs and schools of ecclesiastical architecture, local products of the soil and local cuisines, local

¹ The author is indebted to Dr. H. C. Darby for some helpful suggestions.

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costume and local custom, local saints and local beliefs, local dialects and folk-lore and literary traditions—all that mass of deep-rooted and full-bodied localisms which give to European life its variety and flavour and sense of age-long contact with the soil.” (2) Mediæval and modern history was largely the story of the apparent destruction of localism by royal Governments, overcoming the obstacles of feudal sovereignty, local justice, customs barriers, bad roads, local languages, and so on. By incorporating and by breaking up the natural units, the royal centralizing power created those later forms, the nation-states: “All states consist of an amalgam of fragments, of collections of morsels detached from different natural regions, which complement one another and become cemented together, and which make of their associated diversities a genuine unity.” (3) But in much of Europe, throughout the nineteenth century, the influence of locality came back, for among most of the small national groups struggling to achieve a more or less separate existence there was a very pronounced consciousness of the individual landscapes of their countries, and a fostering of all the cultural expressions arising out of them. With the movement for political freedom went the preservation of language, dialect, folk-lore, legend, and custom, alike in Bohemia, in Ireland, in Catalonia, in Croatia and Slovenia, and in Wales.

Regionalism proceeds from the reaction against the centralized government of the modern State, against the centralizing influence of the capital city upon all cultural activities, and against the standardizing effects of modern civilization. Generally this opposition is unorganized and ineffective, and takes the form of approval of any cultural activity away from the capital. (4) In Italy and Germany after 1871 the large cities resisted, unsuccessfully, the subordination of their traditions to the metropolis. In England the passing of eighteenth-century Edinburgh is regretted and the continued activity of Dublin as an independent literary centre is welcomed. The newer universities are coming to act as foci for

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their areas; while occasionally a proposal is made that much central and local government business could be better organized in units of the size of provinces. (5)

In two countries only has this movement any real vitality. In Spain regionalist and nationalist aspirations are closely linked together. The peninsula is very diversified geographically, and the principal groups show considerable divergences in racial and linguistic characteristics and in historical tradition. All the efforts of reactionary Governments to achieve uniformity of culture and administration, especially in Catalonia (1822-45), have failed to root out this feeling of local independence. Localism is strong and widens into regionalism, which in turn becomes a struggle for national autonomy in Catalonia and in the ill-fated Galicia and Euzkadi. A leader of Galician nationalist aspirations, Alfredo Brunos, published his influential book in 1889 under the title of *Regionalism*. The leaders of the movement for autonomy within Spain to-day are aware of regional differences proper: after the acquisition of autonomous status by Catalonia (Statute of 1931, ratified by the Spanish Cortes 1932), the Generalitat recognized the regional differences within Catalonia by a step towards decentralization. The territory which had consisted of four Spanish provinces was divided afresh into nine regions, a division which can be traced back to pre-Roman days. (6)

Spanish regionalism is largely traditional and unselfconscious, extending through all groups of the populations concerned, and it merges into a struggle for national autonomy; the French movement is a more intellectual product and is strictly regionalist. The centralization of so much of the machinery of government upon the capital has very largely led to the overwhelming preponderance of Paris over all French towns in commercial, social, and intellectual activities. Many politicians, of different parties, have demanded a decentralization which would allow localities to govern their internal affairs. "The basis of regionalist policy is

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that no real unity is achieved by disregarding the real differences between the various regions of France, by endeavouring to reduce everything to one common system, and that the true aim should be unity through diversity and through freedom of local life." (7) It is the hope that such reorganization would retard the concentration of energy upon Paris, and lessen those uprooting tendencies of modern civilization which Maurice Barrès criticized in *Les Déracinés* (1897). It should, further, do something to diminish the exodus from the land. It would, finally, preserve local culture and provide inspiration for artists of every kind.

Inevitably, consideration of the problem is postponed in face of more pressing needs, and the movement remains in the form of an agitation. There is a Fédération Régionaliste Française (formed in 1900), and an immense literature on the subject has been produced over several decades. (8) Some reformers have concentrated on the spiritual side, like the poet Frédéric Mistral, who attempted to revive the language, literature, and traditions of ancient Provence through the *Félibrige* (1854), and there is everywhere a good deal of this "sentimental provincialism," as it has been called. The majority desire an administrative reorganization, claiming that the present unit, the department, has no real unity, political, economic, geographical, or racial; the principle behind its creation by Target in 1790 was that the chief town should be no more than a day's journey from any spot within the area. Some regionalists favour a regrouping of the departments, with about one-third of the present number, but the majority favour a bolder redivision of the country, so that each area should have a definite personality with divergent resources if possible, a well-defined central city, and the legacy of a connected historical tradition. When these schemes are discussed, practical difficulties naturally arise: the central city, for example, is not always so well defined. Thus Nice would prefer a connexion with an Alpine region governed from Grenoble to a connexion with a Pro-

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vence region governed from Marseilles. In Normandy there is some ground for making a West Norman region around Caen, separate from the rest of Normandy lying around the obvious centre of Rouen, since the economic interests of the two parts differ considerably. In any central region Orléans has a better historical claim, but Bourges is a better centre geographically. (9) It is important to note that for various purposes France is already divided into "regions"—the military and legal organization, the postal system, the sixteen university areas, and finally the regions for the ordering of various economic activities, the setting up of which by the Ministry of Commerce was completed about 1920. Vallaux, however, claims that the economic areas, such as those of the viticulture, metallurgical, and wheat producers' groups, cannot be cited as examples of regional tendencies. (10)

Charles-Brun gives a list of projects, from 1851 (Bécharde) to P. Vidal de la Blache (1910), including those of Auguste Comte (1854), Frédéric le Play (1864), and P. Foncin (1898), varying from the thirty-two divisions of Foncin to the seventeen of de la Blache. (11) French geographers have naturally taken part in these discussions, and de la Blache's map of his proposed seventeen regions is well known. (12) Earlier, Foncin had given the problem careful attention. (13) He found that of the 89 departments 30 were more or less homogeneous (6 properly so, 13 largely, and 11 partly), the remaining 59 (or two-thirds) being incoherent to varying degrees. Of more particular interest to geographers is the fact that Foncin emphasized the importance of the *pays*, that small locality of a physical unity of soil, of which there are from 300 to 350, roughly equal in number to the 362 *arrondissements*. His regions were to be founded upon groupings of *pays*.

Other geographical opinion, however, is adverse. In a trenchant article C. Vallaux (14), known for his regional studies of Brittany, holds that a much more real unit, neither historical nor geographical, is the area of influence of a

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market town, a cell meeting a fundamental necessity of economic and social life. He suggests that the departments serve all varieties of national life perfectly well—private groups take naturally the form of their department or of several departments together. Decentralization will be brought about by each activity with its own local area and for its own purpose, a more flexible arrangement than the regionalist division. Vallaux makes an important distinction when he claims that regional peculiarities of the mode of life (*genres de vie*) disappear inevitably owing to improved communications and rising standards of living. Regional peculiarities of thought, on the other hand, should not be allowed to disappear, but these have nothing in common with regionalist frameworks. They exist easily enough, if they are going to exist at all, within the department system, as the vigorous and many-sided life of the Nord region exists within the two departments of the Nord and Pas de Calais. In short, Vallaux's essay makes it clear that internal life and government do not necessarily fit into a framework supplied by the geographers.

The United States appears to be a country of a standard culture and one in which there is little room for regionalist movements. In *Main Street* Sinclair Lewis paints a dreary picture of uniformity over the area west of Pittsburgh, and shows how difficult it is to distinguish the inhabitant of Arkansas from the inhabitant of Delaware. Yet there has been a certain lack of uniformity in American national life, commonly called "sectionalism," and F. J. Turner attempted a regional approach to the history of the United States. (15) And a European observer, Count Keyserling, says "America is at bottom a new land of budding localisms, very much as Europe was at the end of the migrations of the peoples," and further, that it seems to be subdivided "into large provinces of a comparatively unified character, provinces out of which there would undoubtedly have grown in earlier days and under different conditions separated cultures." (16) Here

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is the difference : the comparatively feeble growth of localism is a result not so much of differences in geography as of differences in history. The people of the United States have been settled on their land for a comparatively short time, for most of them a time which has seen the development of all the great solvents of local culture—easy travel and intercourse, primary education, the cheap Press, advertising, the cinema, and broadcasting. A Europe which had been settled at the same time and for the same period as the United States would have developed nothing like so much the present variety of its ways of life. The physical diversity of the Continent presents only a possibility and not a compelling force.

However much these localisms may be developing in the United States, they cannot be directly compared with those of Europe. Regions like New England or the South are of a larger order of magnitude than those of France or Spain. It is conceivable that localisms are growing within New England or the South, and it is these which are more nearly equivalent to the regions in European countries. They are most likely to appear in the literature, that is, the regional novels of the localities.

Thus, in sum, the regionalist movement appears to have made little active progress, but it offers more than a possibility for the geographical basis of society. It is arguable that there is now a change of emphasis from the spiritual to the economic, for in the past decade or so a regional organization has been desiderated by many observers, less as an end in itself than as an improved means of ordering the material side of social life. The organization of economic activity grows steadily, and in England tends more to be arranged in regions—those of the new Post Office administration being the latest example. An important development has been the ordering of scenic and residential amenities under the name of "regional planning." In the United States the Government has been giving much attention in recent years to the better utilization of land and the conservation of

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natural resources, activities which tend to be organized on a regional basis. There have even been proposals for a "sectional" system of internal government. An American author says, "There are two great economic complexes that may be expected to force regionalism on the attention of the State. The first of these is the railroads, and the task is one of consolidation, elimination, and unification of systems until each natural crop and natural resource province shall be efficiently interconnected with metropolitan centres. The second is the pressing problem of electric power. Hydro-electric development based on the natural distribution of flowing rivers and water power demands co-ordination of large areas." (17) Other examples of organizations transcending old divisions are the Federal Reserve Areas and the direction in which wholesale and retail trade is moving. A decentralization of economic activity with some points of similarity can be seen in another large territory, the U.S.S.R., where the movement towards concentration under the Czarist régime has been reversed.

A further tendency towards the development of medium-sized organizations is to be found in the growing influence of the large city, which spreads its economic and social attraction round itself in a number of ways. N. S. B. Gras gives this the name of "metropolitan regionalism," and suggests that in the United States eleven cities are crystallizing surrounding areas into tributary territories, while three others are failing to do so. (18) A similar process can be observed among the cities of Great Britain.

It may well be that this more practical kind of regionalism, arising partly from economic needs and partly from the attraction of a large city, will develop more actively than the rather doctrinaire regionalism which has been so much discussed in France. It must be remembered that any emergent regions in the U.S.A. would probably be of a much greater order of magnitude than any in the countries of Western Europe. Further, C. Vallaux has suggested that the areal

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grouping of different activities can be independent of each other and of any of the geographers' frameworks. But it is undeniable that this tendency has a considerable geographical interest.

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The second aspect of a developing consciousness of the smaller areas is the rise of the regional concept in geography. This is primarily a technique for the study of geographical data, but not long after its inception Herbertson had made a plea for the adoption of a "regional psychology" in related subjects (19), and the regional approach has not been without influence upon other branches of study. In geography rather more attention has been paid to the study of generic classifications than to the complementary study of specific regions. The actual history of the concept is illuminating. In this country, apart from H. R. Mill's tentative essay in detailed treatment of West Sussex (1900) (20), attention was for long focused upon Herbertson's Scheme of Natural Regions (1905) (21), an analytical division of the world into major regions, although there soon appeared the first treatment of minor regions, Roxby's *Historical Geography of East Anglia* (1907). (22) The method of synthetic regions, by which the smallest areas are first distinguished and then grouped to form larger regional divisions, is chiefly associated with the name of J. F. Unstead, and now tends to dominate theoretical discussion. (23) In France the theory has given rise less to world frameworks than to the production of a number of classic studies of the regions of France itself, following Vidal de la Blache's "*Tableau de la Géographie de la France*" (3rd edn. 1908). (24) (For any comparable studies England had to wait until 1928, when the *Twenty One Regional Essays* appeared.) (25) From 1908 German geographers have exhaustively studied the problem of the relations between analytical and synthetic treatments, as Unstead has done in this country, and they have set out with considerable completeness systems of units which can be

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amalgamated into a hierarchy of larger and larger areas. While the French school established the method of regional description, the modern German school has done most to relate it to Herbertson's concept of a system of major regions on a world basis. In the U.S.A., finally, there has been ample discussion of regional theory by Sauer (26), Bowman (27), and others. Now much work is being done in an attempt to distinguish regions more systematically by survey methods and schedules so that all the different elements in a landscape can be mapped, though a recent American contribution suggests that scientific regional description has no academic future. (28) We must not conclude, however, that in the regional concept the geographer has found his ideal tool, for in it are involved various problems, the problems of transition zones, of the world classification of regions, of space relationships, and of the place of the region as the beginning or the end of geographical research.

Here, however, we are concerned to notice the ways in which its evolution is moving, ways which take it towards the development of regionalism on the one hand and of regional literature on the other. The first tendency, as we have seen, is the turning of interest from the analytic to the synthetic treatments, from the large to the small. More and more the small unit, "stow," or "*landschaft*," is seen to be the basis of the regional method. The second is the growing realization that there are comparatively few "natural" regions—that almost every region has been changed by human occupation in one way or another. In a later paper Herbertson suggested that in some regions man is a part of the whole, "having set his mark all over its surface, in fact he is an essential part of it." (29) The idea of human activity and its results has become inseparable from the idea of a region. The German geographer Braun considers that the goal of regional geography is the explanation of the transformation of a natural region (*Naturlandschaft*) into a cultivated region or landscape (*Kulturlandshaft*). A.

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Demangeon writes: "L'originalité d'une physionomie géographique provient donc d'une synthèse des données de la nature et des données de l'homme." (30) Thus we arrive at the conception of geographic individuality as a product of nature and man appearing through the "*physionomie*," aspect or landscape. Keyserling could point out that parts of Minnesota have an essentially Swedish landscape because they have been colonized largely by Swedish immigrants. (31)

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The third aspect of this awakening of interest in locality lies in the great output of regional novels in European literature after the middle of the nineteenth century. In England a curious prevision of what might be done to preserve the interests of local culture was made in 1884 by an historian, Bishop Mandell Creighton, who observed that "English history is at bottom a provincial history . . . the vigorous undercurrent of a strong provincial life is seldom seriously considered by historians. Yet the moment that English life is approached from the imaginative side, it is this strong provincial life that attracts attention. Our best types of character are developed within distinct areas and owe their expressiveness to local circumstances." Creighton realized, further, that this provincial life was not only neglected, but in danger of passing away unobserved and unrecorded. He suggested that the archæologists and historians might avert this and bring the characteristic features of different parts of England into due prominence: "Local character, habits, institutions, modes of thought and observation, are all the result of a long process, different in different parts of England. They are only to be seen and understood by a sympathetic searcher and observer who looks upon each part of England in the light of its past, who sees that past not only in ancient buildings here and there, but on the whole face of the land, and in the hearts and lives of its inhabitants." (32) But it was the novelists and not the historians and archæologists who were making a record of all the features that

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colour a locality—the first of Hardy's Wessex novels had been published in 1871.

The heart of Wessex, like the territories of most other regional authors, does not coincide with the boundaries of any region a geographer may draw, but there is no doubt that the Dorset of the novels is an individuality. The scenery varies from the clay lowland of the Vale of Blackmore to the chalk uplands of the centre and coastal regions and the heath country of the south-east. But there was unity in diversity, for the different geographical tracts were complementary to each other with their different products from meadow, arable, chalk pasture, woodland, or heath. Many of the farms, like many of the parishes, extended over more than one kind of soil, an inheritance of the economic arrangements of the first Saxon settlers. Besides physical links or divergencies we must consider human relations, for together with an economic unity went the less tangible unity of dialect, tradition, custom, and all the habitudes which make up local culture. Of the best of the novels only one is set outside Dorset, and the Berkshire downland of *Jude* is very similar to that of Dorset, while in the whole series the author's touch seems to become less sure whenever he moves beyond the region he knows so intimately.

It is an almost purely agricultural community which^h is pictured in the novels, living mostly in villages like Marygreen of *Jude*, Overcombe of *The Trumpet Major*, or Weatherbury of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, a perfect example of the nucleated settlement, with its farms, inn, malthouse, church, and great monastic barn. The life of such a countryside was perhaps as placid and stable as any, yet it had been affected by the Enclosures and the steam-engine, and Hardy saw the dissolution of many local ways of life. Writing at the end of the century he ascribed the changes to "the recent supplanting of the class of stationary cottagers, who carried on the local traditions and humours, by a population of more or less migratory labourers, which has led to a break

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in continuity, more fatal than anything else to the preservation of legend, folklore, close intersocial relations, and eccentric individualities. For these the indispensable conditions of existence are the attachment to the soil of one particular spot by generation after generation." (33) This view was not quite accurate, for the English rural population in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had not been as stationary as Hardy suggests, but Dorset was less likely to have been affected by population movements than most counties.

The settings of other comparative groups of novels offer interesting contrasts in time and place and illustrate the variety of scenery and life which is to be found in England. The novels of Mary Webb have a sharply individual setting—nineteenth-century rural Shropshire, a region lying between "the dimpled lands of England and the gaunt purple steeps of Wales." It was an environment of poorer soil and more broken topography than Wessex, with hamlets and scattered farms, a form of settlement more characteristic of the west of Britain, where the arable is smaller and more scattered than in the English Plain. It was, too, the western border, the Marches where English and Welsh had met and mingled for centuries, a region "not quite sure of its nationality, mingled in speech, divided between the white, blue-roofed cottages of Wales and the red thatched one of Shropshire." Localism was emphasized by remoteness.

Other well-known novels of the countryside are those of Sheila Kaye-Smith (Sussex), Eden Phillpotts (Dartmoor and its borders), S. L. Bensusan (Essex), and L. G. Gibbon (mid-east Scotland).

In countrysides such as these agrarian and social movements produced slow changes, but it was the vaster Industrial Revolution which destroyed much of their individuality. The Industrial Revolution was more than a solvent, however, for out of the flux emerged new entities based upon industry and trade. One of these manufacturing centres is

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the basis of the earlier novels of Arnold Bennett—*Anna of the Five Towns* and the Clayhanger trilogy. Another industrial area, the Nottinghamshire coalfield and its fringes, is the setting of much of the work of D. H. Lawrence. In many of his short stories the interest is partial; *Lady Chatterley's Lover* has a pronounced regional background, while *Sons and Lovers* and *The White Peacock* are more properly regional, in that the characters and plots proceed more directly out of the life of the region itself, and cannot be imagined as existing in precisely the same way in any other locality.

Critics of European literature agree that since the early nineteenth century novelists have been influenced by regional inspiration to a pronounced degree. (34) French literature probably has the largest number of specialized novels to be found in any literature; in fact, almost every part of the country has its own group. Léon Daudet said that every province ought to have at least one novel, and from such novels, suggested Jules le Maître, could be formed a sort of moral and picturesque geography of the French *patrie*. Not only rural scenes: Zola's *Germinal*, while primarily a novel of a different kind, describes the very distinctive life and background of a mining district in the north-east. In France the writing of these novels was very often related directly to regionalist aspirations. In Germany the movement grew out of the production of cycles of historical-topographical works following the success of Scott's Waverley novels, and was strengthened in the middle of the century by the revival of interest in peasant dialect and provincial life. Other influences were the Realist movement spreading from France and the so-called "*Heimatkunst*" (regional art) movement. Hence in Germany, and in Austria, too, "we have to trace every writer to his place of origin, and there is scarcely a single one of any merit who did not draw his characters from his native region, inspired by attachment to its history and devotion to its special destiny." (35) In

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Scandinavia the local inspiration of the novelist became particularly marked in the latter part of the century, especially in Norway. First came an increasing interest in folk-lore and fairy tales, then a movement for using local dialects, and then in the 50's came Sundt's researches into the life and manners of the rural districts. There followed an increasing number of authors who substituted particular districts for the country as a whole and dealt with people from a locality, in contrast to the generalized and rather romantic treatment of rural life in Björnson's novels. There grew up a whole school of regional novelists who wrote of the farm, mine, forest, and factory, the best work probably being that of Hans Kinck (1865-1926). In Spanish literature regionalism is firmly established, particularly in Catalan. In Italy much the same is true: according to C. Pellizzi, romanticism "has been conducive very generally to local or regional inspiration . . . the wide differences in type, tradition, and culture between the various regions in Italy would impress their lasting marks on the literature that was to be inspired by the tendency." (36) Finally, in the U.S.A. the same movement is evident. The wheat, corn, and cotton belts have been presented in regional portraiture at the hands of numerous writers, and there is a beginning in the direction of detailed studies of localities within these large areas.

The widespread nature of this new inspiration is apparent. Before attempting to summarize its characteristics it may be worth while inquiring tentatively into the discoverable origins of the movement, by which so much of European prose fiction came to have a local habitation and a name.

The most obvious of these origins is the regionalist movement in various countries, literary activity being one facet and political agitation another. In a discussion of the French regional novel Charles-Brun (37) regards this as the most important cause, though the relationship was a two-way process. But in England, where some of the best regional novels have been produced, regionalism has had no great

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development: hence we must look for other causes. There was, first, the considerable legacy of the Romantic Movement. Accompanying the revolt against the neo-classical traditions and cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century went a looking back into the past and an interest in Nature and in the common people. Many of the poems of Wordsworth, such as "Michael," illustrate this latter tendency clearly enough. In prose it was the work of Scott, which successfully combined these aspects, for in his Waverley novels local colour in time led to local colour in place. They were full of a feeling for landscape and local humours, which stamped them as original and outstanding. Scott, in fact, established the topographical novel by giving the background of neighbourhood an absorbing interest and importance. Certainly his widespread inspiration to Continental writers suggests that he fulfilled some urgent need of the age. He had followers in Spain and in Italy, attempting to interpret their localities in history, legend, and folk-lore. In Germany there were many efforts in this direction—Alexis, for example, wrote a series of Waverley novels for Prussia, 1848–56. It was in France, under the leadership of Chateaubriand, that Scott's influence was most felt, and from 1820 to 1840 he had many imitators. Here, as elsewhere, an interest in locality in the past gradually became an interest in locality in the present.

The general trend of thought favoured this new interest of the novelist, for as the century progressed there was a growing interest in the milieu, deriving from the work of Locke and Diderot, a realization that men do not live quite apart from their physical and social environment, which was foreshadowed by Montesquieu's famous "theory of climates." Further, the progress of applied science and of the Industrial Revolution fertilized other fields of thought. The critical scientific spirit crept into literature, and in the regional novel took various views of the relation between man and Nature. There was, too, a growing interest in life and labour, a desire to see clearly how people lived, which was paralleled in the

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theory of historical materialism and in the studies of sociology, economic history, and human geography.

Whatever its origins, the widespread occurrence of the regional novel is clear. Has it any definable characteristics beyond a topographical background? Of all those novels which have such a background the majority are not truly regional. Some authors may be merely following a fashion; others may employ this background as a means of unifying a series of separate works; with others their interest in the background appears as an important but subsidiary ingredient in their art. It is possible, however, from inspection to suggest certain fundamental characteristics of the regional novel proper.

The most obvious, as the most essential, quality is that of absorption in a particular locality: absorption and not merely interest. It would be generally agreed that the novels of Hardy and Bennett show an absorption in locality, while the topographical novel shows merely sympathetic interest. This differentiation is essential: we cannot imagine any true regional novelist writing about any other region. The area, too, must not be too small: H. W. Freeman's novels of Suffolk have not done for Suffolk what the Wessex novels have done for Dorset, for they deal with a farm only, and not a region. Many of the nineteenth-century Russian novels show an absorbing interest in "the country," but not in a particular countryside.

This characteristic, however, conceals others of almost equal importance. The first is the wide similarity in the human material, for in the novels of this kind a dominant part is always played by the labouring classes or by others directly concerned in industry or agriculture, such as the manager or the farmer. In Hardy's novels this feature is emphasized by the construction, for of the principal characters some are directly concerned with the work of the countryside, and others, educated or aristocratic, come from the outside, while the plot develops from the interaction of these two types against a background of peasants. The true

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regional novel has people at work as an essential material: it has become almost the epic of the labourer.

This is not to say that it is unique in the use of such material. The proletarian novel of recent years is not usually regional. Its miners or factory workers appear more as types, and their treatment implies discussion of class relationships. Here the worker and his place in society become all-important, and there is less attention paid to the region. The story might equally well be written of any mine or any factory. Some novels, like L. G. Gibbon's *Grey Granite* and Zola's *Germinale*, are both proletarian and regional.

Inevitably, arising out of its two main components of place and people, the regional novel has a third essential in its material. The story and characters are treated through the medium of the everyday work of the locality. Very little happens which has no connexion with work. In the Wessex novels many of the most critical scenes appear through the daily work, scenes like those of Marty South and Winterbourne tree planting, Tess in the dairy of the Froom Vale, or Gabriel Oak and Bathsheba on the ricks during the storm. The people in these novels are inseparable from their fields, sheep pastures, barns, or wagons just as the people of Arnold Bennett's *Five Towns* are inseparable from their mines, kilns, and factories. But this emphasis on work is not surprising, and has a parallel in the studies of the geographer and sociologist. Brunhes, like le Play before him, made it clear that "Man comes into relation with the natural environments through facts of labour, through the house he builds, the road he travels, the field he cultivates, the quarry he works." (38)

Out of these three essential elements the novelist produces a synthesis, a living picture of the unity of place and people, through work. We cannot think of one apart from the other. Of both the geographer and the novelist it can be said: "Il verrait que le sol est consubstantiel à ceux qui naquirent au sol et qui grandirent alimentés par lui." (39)

This synthesis is not the result of a simple interaction, for

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it has often taken centuries to evolve. The effects of work are not merely figures traced upon a plane, they are events in a continuum and the present is an accumulation of results. Thus Hardy, in describing a rural scene, sees his people carrying on their work amid the traces of the past—the fields ploughed for centuries, the church of the Middle Ages, the Saxon village site, the Roman street plan of Casterbridge, the prehistoric barrow on the down. Bennett and Lawrence, on the other hand, see everywhere contrast and misfit, traces of an older past being submerged by the rising tide of houses, villas, chapels, and factories. The result of this long history of work is the many different landscapes of the old countries of Europe. The geographical interest of such novels is clear, for Sorre said that the whole of geography lies in the contemplation and analysis of landscape. (40)

The common interest goes farther, however. Belloc long ago remarked upon the personality of European countryside (41), and what the regional novel reveals above all else is the individuality of its particular landscape. It has an exact location, an atmosphere which is not transferable, what a French writer has called differentiation. (42) This achievement is not dissimilar from Sauer's view of the dominant theme of regional geography, which he sees as the expression of the individuality of a region, the site of a particular group of people and their work. (43) It lends support to Leighley's conclusion that regional description on systematic lines can never be scientific in spite of its scientific appearance, and that it will be more successful when attempted by artistic methods. (44) The acquisition of geographic individuality by a country has been well described by one of the greatest of geographers, and the regions of the novelists acquire it in exactly the same way :

“ It is not something delivered complete from the hand of Nature. . . . It is man who reveals a country's individuality by moulding it to his own use. He establishes a connexion between unrelated features, substituting for the random effects

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of local circumstances a systematic co-operation of forces. Only then does a country acquire a specific character differentiating it from others, till at length it becomes, as it were, a medal struck in the likeness of a people." (45)

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NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

By R. J. BAKER

I

THE terms blood and soil symbolize much of the National Socialist outlook. They direct attention to the racial and physical-geographical foundations of human society. But the implications of the terms are much wider. They signify an attempt to explain social phenomena by the use of concepts and categories native to the biological and physical-geographical sciences.

The order in which the two terms appear in the expression "blood and soil" represents correctly the primary importance attached to the biological as compared with the second set of ideas. (1) Ties of blood are regarded as the fundamental factor determining social groupings.

The central application of the racial idea is in the concept of the nation, which is the cornerstone of National Socialist theory. Writers on the nation have regarded common descent, language, territory, ideas and outlook, or history, either separately or in combination, as the foundations of a nation. Many would stress the necessity of some consciousness of kind and at least some history in common before one could speak of a nation as a real factor in social and political life. National Socialism selects descent as the key factor. Whether the other elements happen to be present is regarded as a matter of indifference in defining a nation. Language may not coincide with descent: many whose mother tongue is German may not be "Aryan" in race. Territory does not coincide because German blood is to be found—and always has been—outside the Reich frontiers, and also scattered outside the area of compact German settlement. The diversity of ideas and outlook as well as the extremely varied historical past of persons of German blood also provide no convincing

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foundation for a united nation. National Socialism seeks to find this in the racial concept of the nation.

Although these other constituents of nationhood take only second place in delimiting the German nation, the divergence between them and the racial unit is incompatible with the supremacy of the racial concept. The coincidence of the other factors with German blood is not a fact but an aim. They do not explain what the nation is, but indicate the practical tasks for the self-conscious nation. "Non-Aryan" German-speaking persons are to be excluded from the nation in all respects, in legal status, social intercourse, and economic life—Article Four of the Programme of the National Socialist Party: "Only members of the nation can be citizens of the State. Members of the nation are only persons of German blood, irrespective of religious creed. Consequently no Jew can be a member of the nation"; the Nuremberg laws prohibiting marriage between Jews and non-Jews; trade boycott and recent legislation to completely debar Jews from certain trades. The territory of the Reich must be made coincident with the areas inhabited by the hundred million persons of German blood in Europe—Article One: "We demand the union of all Germans in a Greater Germany, on the basis of the right of national self-determination." The ideas and outlook of all these persons of German blood must be adapted to the uniform pattern—the totalitarian claim of the National Socialist movement and state in literature, the Press, science, and education. When all this is achieved the lack of a common history will be made good by a common future in the world.

As the nation is the central idea, the practical task is to maintain and strengthen it. Measures taken to achieve this goal include an increase in the size of the population so as to enhance the military strength of the nation—marriage loans, family allowances, propaganda for large families (a "German family" has at least four children, and poster artists are warned against displaying one with less). Much is also

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spoken about the quality of the population, biologically considered. The aim of the state-fostered population policy is to increase to the greatest possible extent the number of hereditarily fit persons, as distinct from those with hereditary diseases. (Family allowances have this year been withdrawn from Jews.)

These efforts in the sphere of population have a marked effect on the attitude to the institutions most closely concerned, the family and the relation between the sexes. The production of children obtains complete precedence over other functions of the family as a community of husband, wife, and children and as an educational institution. Marriage is a duty. The control over the individual in this respect is greater the nearer he stands to the National Socialist Party or the Civil Service; it is a factor in considering promotion. But marriage without children has little significance. Social distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate children vanish. (2)

This biological side of the family is thrown into relief by the reduction of its educational functions. The state school, the Hitler Youth, and other branches of the movement are largely responsible for implanting the new National Socialist outlook securely in the minds of the younger generation—a task which could not be left to parents brought up on and still under the influence of older ideas.

The emphasis on the reproductive function is supported by the ideology that the place of the woman is in the home and by the earlier efforts to drive women out of paid occupations, with the consequent effects on their social status. To say that this is the programme does not mean to say that the attempt to reverse the development of recent decades can be carried through without resistance. Furthermore, competition between the claims of the home and the factory is now making itself felt as a result of the demand for labour in certain branches of industry. (3)

The National Socialist conception of history bears a strong

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analogy to biological categories. The organism undergoes few mutations from generation to generation. It may be propagated a multitude of times without showing appreciable changes in its inborn qualities. And as the nation is viewed from the angle of blood and descent, and is regarded as the cornerstone of human society, the same conception applies to human affairs. National Socialism rules out any general idea of social development. Not only is the idea of progress, with its implied ethical valuations, cast on one side; any conception of continuous change tending in a certain direction is excluded. One is left with the actual situation in which a nation may find itself from time to time, succeeding or failing in its endeavour to maintain and strengthen itself. It may at one period be young and energetic, later grow decadent, and then rejuvenate itself. Turning-points in history are due to destiny, which, like God, explains everything and nothing. Favourable situations arise, they are recognized and seized upon by men of action who feel called upon to lead their people in the struggle against alien racial influences. The permanent element is struggle; it never reaches a final goal, each round merely improving or worsening the chances of a particular nation in the next. (4)

This barren conception of the internal history of a nation has its counterpart in the belief that relations between nations can only be those of domination and subjection. This view is all the more significant to-day with the universal intercourse between states. With the German nation as the supreme criterion of action, and with any definite progress in the organization of relations between peoples and states, in contrast to temporary alliances, ruled out of account, there is clearly no basis for international law. All problems of international organization are reduced to foreign policy, as the utilization of all possible opportunities for promoting the interests of the German nation. The activity of any German not based on this principle is treason. International life is a struggle for existence and domination. The fact that the

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German nation is eventually destined for world domination is not kept a secret. Perhaps one should regard this claim concerning the position of the German nation in the world as the essence of the National Socialist philosophy of history, if the term can be applied at all. Here National Socialism is pared down to its imperialist core. But it is ideologically a racial imperialism. It makes no claim to raise subject races in the scale of civilization because they are biologically incapable of change, and social progress does not take place. The superior races are destined to rule the rest. (5)

Categories derived from the life of the organism are applied extensively to current events. Much is made of the distinction between old and young nations, individuals, and groups. The future belongs to the youth, and it is the task of the old nations and political groups to remove themselves from the scene of history. Germany is young *because* she is showing considerable vitality. The longer established imperialist powers which stand in her way are old, degenerating, and must decline—it is hoped. In spite of Germany's old culture her "youth" unites her in an "anti-imperialist bloc" with the young nations in Central and Eastern Europe, which are seeking a national form of life. This argument was developed in particular by Moeller van den Bruck, who exercised a powerful influence on the younger generation of German nationalists after the war. Effort to win the youth and any whose attainments have not reached their aspirations by agitation against the "old gang" and the old parties, quite irrespective of their policies, is characteristic of National Socialism and allied movements.

The predominance of concepts and categories derived from biology has its negative side. It excludes inherently social ideas. In most National Socialist thought social phenomena must either be handled in biological terms or left out of consideration. The significance of this for sociology and associated sciences is far-reaching. Inherently,

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social institutions and relationships are approached mainly on the basis of analogy with non-social phenomena.

Whilst National Socialist theory is thus extremely ill-equipped for analysing social structure and development, the problems of modern society remain and National Socialists are in practice concerned with them. They are compelled to provide some explanation even for phenomena they do not like, but in doing so endeavour to keep within the circle of racial ideas. The evils of society emanate eventually from the scapegoat race or from certain—probably biologically inferior—individuals, whose weakness exposes them to the machinations of this race. The need for explaining social phenomena without an inherently social theory has led National Socialism to carry its racial views to such lengths in theory and practice that many outside observers regard this as the most amazing and unintelligible feature of the movement. International troubles are ascribed to bolshevism, which is traceable eventually to Jewry. Sober newspapers relate the names and number—not the proportion—of Jews in high places in Russia. The conclusion is drawn for public consumption that the principal aim of all countries should be to combat bolshevism. Under this cloak it is hoped to realize the real aims of National Socialist philosophy concerning the mission of Germany in the world. In domestic politics a large amount of the criticism of former régimes consists of an attack on certain personal qualities of representative individuals. The old leaders were inferior types. The Parliamentarians, as individuals, were without character and would not bear responsibility. It was alleged that the masses were won for anti-national policies by *wild gewachsene Führer*, and that the organizations they supported benefited only the office-holders on top. The misleading of the masses by irresponsible individuals provided the opportunity for the alien race to impose its will. The present task of National Socialism is to lead the masses back to a German national way of thinking, and it had been accomplished to

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99 per cent. by April 1938. In this simple way a whole historical stage of capitalism with its imperialist and class conflicts is explained—away.

This negative side of the theory is inevitable. No other type of analysis is possible that would not conflict with the general outlook of National Socialism and reveal aims it desires to conceal. Krieck, for example, mentions the existence in society of classes, occupational associations, and other social groupings. But they play no rôle of any consequence in his analysis of man in community. He also refers to the influence on thought of the position of the thinker in society (*Standortgebundenheit*), but he does not and cannot make any use of the term he has borrowed. (6) Detailed attention is devoted only to the racial and national background of scientific development. In attributing decisive importance to this factor, he is prepared to maintain not only that Western science is less useful to a primitive people than its own magic, but also that national differences may outweigh the common elements in the science of the Western world. (7)

We have taken a brief glance at some of the main concepts and categories of National Socialist thought and the treatment of certain social phenomena, which are closely associated with the symbolic term "blood." Its counterpart "soil" symbolizes the physical conditions of existence, geographical situation, and natural resources. The native soil is the permanent external factor giving stability to the life of the nation, in the same way as blood is the internal guarantee of its permanence. The interactions between them are regarded as the source of the peculiar traditions and mode of life of a national group. The "soil" concept is subordinate to that of "blood," and its overemphasis might conflict with the term which occupies the centre of attention. The claims of an exaggerated *Geopolitik*, seeking to explain the course of politics by reference to the geographical and physical conditions under which people live and the resulting

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relations between peoples, could not be harmonized with the racial theory. But owing to the relative stability of these conditions any temptation to see in them the reason for all new developments is diminished at the outset.

II

Peculiar German circumstances and general problems of modern capitalism combine to give a special stamp to National Socialist theory.

The retardation in the evolution of a united German national state distinguishes the history of the German people from that of most others in Western Europe. In France, Britain, and other countries the national state had been firmly established before the rise of capitalism produced new internal divisions. In Germany the endeavour to accomplish national unity was still being made at a time when over a century of industrial society had rendered the solution of modern class conflicts the outstanding political issue. The rapid telescopic sequence of phases in the growth of the political consciousness of the German industrial and commercial class and then of the working class brought in its train a vigorous controversy on all social and political issues. In this atmosphere post-war German nationalism has sought to create an outlook which would offer a more powerful attraction than competing ideas. The new circumstances make its task more difficult than that of older types of nationalism which developed before the present-day class issues had become acute. (8) The mere ignoring of popular demands is clearly insufficient for a movement seeking mass support to undermine the following of the Socialist Labour Movement. National Socialism was conscious of the need for appearing to incorporate socialist ideas in its outlook in order to supersede them. In Germany these ideas had become deeply rooted and had a positive value for many sections of the population ; in this country similar sections would condemn any socialist project. The Labour Move-

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ment especially was more consciously socialist than it is here. The endeavour to combine national and socialist ideas has given its name to the movement.

The "socialist" idea, however, is divorced from its class setting, robbed of its economic programme, and employed in the sense of the organic. Every individual and class is a part of and subordinate to the whole. The organic conception serves the usual purpose of suggesting that the removal or changing the function of any limb of the body politic would destroy the whole. It is an instrument for use against far-reaching social change, for the preservation of the *status quo*. Employed on the one hand against individualism, this organic "socialism" is then brought into play against a collectivism in which the individual is lost in the whole. In the organism the constituent members still have a separate identity to a degree.

The whole, of which individuals and groups form part, is for the National Socialist most definitely not mankind. Such an interpretation would not assist the aims of German Nationalism. The organic idea is embodied in the concept of the national community, which, it is claimed, bridges the conflicts inherent in the industrial society of the nineteenth century, the class struggle developed in the nineteenth century between the industrial bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat. The ideas of the former crystallized out in liberalism, those of the latter in Marxism. Therefore, it is held, both liberalism and Marxism are theories of the class struggle, the removal of which requires a campaign against liberalism and Marxism jointly. The *idea* of the national community is advanced to overcome conflicting *interests*. (9)

The conflict of interests has not been removed. That would mean altering the structure of society, whereas the logical outcome of the organic conception is the petrification of the existing social hierarchy. This has been the aim. Every effort has been made to keep the worker a wage-earner and especially to make him content with his appointed

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station; to retain the old and the new middle classes as elements of political stability; and to give the kings of coal and iron free scope for their initiative as "business leaders." There has been one small and necessary exception in the political sphere. The rise to power of National Socialism necessitated the replacement of the former Republican parliamentary leaders and officials by a new political élite. But the change has been restricted to the political sphere and has not been allowed to upset former social and economic relations. As soon as the key political positions had been captured, as early as the summer of 1933, "the end of the revolution" and the inauguration of an era of "organic construction" were proclaimed by Hitler. He made speeches to counter the demand for a "second revolution" raised by many supporters of the National Socialist Movement who wanted to see the social and economic changes they had been promised.

The existing social relations have not merely been maintained by preventing progressive change. A step backward has been taken in the endeavour to banish the idea of class conflict from men's minds and simplify the propaganda for national unity. The new system has attempted to make the employer master in his own house in the way he was in the early days of the industrial revolution. He has become the "leader of the works community," in which his employees are his followers. Followers owe the duty of allegiance to their leader. The ideology of the National Socialist Movement as well as the power of the state are in this way employed to maintain and strengthen the central superiority-subordination relationship of modern capitalism.

These concrete applications of the organic conception show the practical task of National Socialist ideology. It seeks to conceal the conflicts of modern capitalism either by omitting to consider or denying the reality of important social relationships or, when this is not possible, by subordinating them to a higher organic whole. In the practical fight against social-

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ism it is employed to deny the existence of those circumstances which have given rise to socialist ideas and action. All this is common to any defence of capitalism, or indeed of any social system. In Germany the problems were more urgent than in many other countries. In the world to-day it has not proved possible for Germany to undertake a steady and belated development of national unity, followed by a vision of wider expansionist aims. In her struggle for existence against the other Powers her imperialist ambitions have been pursued simultaneously with the search for national unity; both appeared to be endangered by internal divisions. The hitherto peculiarly unfortunate fate of German nationalism and imperialism and the extent of the social conflicts in the country seem to explain to a great extent why the present Nationalist Movement has been driven forward with greater energy than similar movements elsewhere, and also why its theories, which have much in common with other types of socially conservative thought, have been more thoroughgoing than these in the application of their basic ideas.

III

National Socialist theory seeks to provide a theoretical foundation for a policy which attempts to circumvent the class issues of to-day. It conceals vital phenomena and employs concepts and categories incapable of being used for a satisfactory analysis of social relations and institutions. The claim that it is a dynamic and "activistic" outlook serves to emphasize its subservience to the practical aims of the movement. It bears the definite stamp of ideology in contrast to science.

Perhaps a characteristic new feature as compared with previous ideologies is that this non-scientific foundation is not only recognized but in a way emphasized. (10) It is maintained that faith takes priority over knowledge in all scientific research. Faith is firm and certain, knowledge uncertain and fluctuating. (11) The faith of the scientist is that of the

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nation to which he belongs, or, better, faith in his nation. This assertion does not mean merely that scientists have a certain outlook which they necessarily carry with them into their scientific work. It means that they must consciously proceed from a National Socialist outlook and accept the general validity of concepts and categories of the type referred to above. The term "political sciences" suggests that all sciences should set out to solve the problems confronting the German nation on the basis of National Socialist assumptions. Inquiries conducted from any other point of view are not legitimate. (12) The "political university," held out as an ideal by some writers, would not merely require special courses on politics at all universities; it would expect every science, however remote it may stand from public affairs, to be conducted consciously to serve the needs of the German nation, as conceived by those wielding political power.

The practical tasks which the National Socialist movement has set out to accomplish determine the problems with which science is expected to deal. Some of the implications for the social sciences have already been considered. It follows from the political starting-point that the value of different sciences is judged strictly according to their results in promoting or hindering the accomplishment of the tasks of the movement. If they are not helpful in this regard they have no *raison d'être*. It is still often repeated that the universities have yet to prove their worth in the new order by developing as institutions of "German science" and as a training-ground for "political soldiers." (13) The wider question is whether the new circumstances provide an atmosphere in which sciences can thrive, and in some cases, one may say, exist at all. The position may well vary for the different sciences. (14)

The effect of the present requirements of National Socialism on some natural sciences may go to promote certain advances. The Four Year Plan focuses attention on the materials of industry, particularly substitutes, and the

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physical and chemical sciences are certainly stimulated to evolve new materials and processes for this purpose. It seems likely that the main centre of research will be in industry rather than in the universities, to a still greater extent than hitherto, owing to the practical results desired. Students are encouraged to complete their university studies as quickly as possible so as to be available for industry. The best brains can certainly find much to do. The actual tasks, however, are more or less set in advance, and it is not possible to argue directly from the encouragement of certain branches of research to the effect on these sciences as a whole. But within the limits fixed it would seem that the scientists have to be allowed to conduct their work in their own way, because the practical results are the essential consideration here.

Biology is in a peculiar position. We have already considered the important part played in the National Socialist outlook by terms borrowed from that science. It might be considered natural in the circumstances that the scope of biology would be widened and its development accelerated. But the popularity of the terms may not be an unmixed blessing for the science. Many of the biological hypotheses advanced appear to go beyond what is regarded in other countries as possessing some measure of scientific proof. Reference is sometimes made to "the new science of race." Spokesmen of National Socialism may admit that this and also their whole "biological outlook" go beyond the bounds of the special science of biology. (15) But even then the difficulty remains that the biologists can now scarcely afford to come to conclusions conflicting with the tenets of National Socialist faith; on the contrary their work is expected to confirm the official view and to develop further the ideas and their application. It is not surprising that on rare occasions biology specialists are heard not only hinting at the unscientific foundations of the "biological outlook" but also attempting to defend their science from having its methods and results dictated to it from outside. In the case of physical and

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chemical research the scientist must be allowed to pursue his own methods to arrive at the required results. But the results required from the organic conception of things are ideological, relating mainly to social affairs, so that all the attention drawn to biology may be just as detrimental as advantageous to it as a science.

Psychology suffers from over-emphasis on inborn qualities as the determinants of the character of individuals and nations. (16) Problems of the adaptation of the individual to his social environment and of the various types of abnormality, in which the greatest advance has hitherto been made, are not able to receive due consideration from a psychological point of view. Such a treatment would weaken the emphasis placed on heredity and direct attention to social conditions, and neither of these consequences is desired. It is, of course, very easy to ignore psychology by stating that "no individual lives on his own and for himself" (Krieck). The simplification of any ideas certainly renders it easier to attack them for their simplicity and inadequacy for dealing with complex situations. National Socialists are past-masters of this method in refuting the views of their political opponents and the results of various sciences. In psychology and other branches of science one often gets the feeling that they are criticizing the stage reached by the science around about 1900.

Cause for the greatest doubt exists in regard to sociology and the social sciences generally. Sociology must in its nature give due weight to institutions and social groups, the reality of which is now ignored or denied (e.g. classes) or which it is claimed have now been eliminated or made subservient to the interests of the nation as a whole (e.g. parties and other bodies representing group interests). A sociological treatment of (the existing) law and the state may become extremely difficult for one whose task it is to obey the commands of the supreme legislator. Investigations into and too great publicity about many aspects of international

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affairs and the policy of other states may result in the investigator losing his own national consciousness. (17) Whole branches of the social sciences are in this way impeded in the treatment of their subject-matter.

The second obstacle for the social sciences is the narrowing of categories of thought arising from all that is implied by the predominance of the ideas "blood" and "soil." Sociology must aim at embracing all the springs of social action and must be able to employ specifically social concepts. The social sciences have met with harsher treatment at the hands of the National Socialists, not just because of the political views of the social scientists, but because of their sociological method of thought. It is not surprising that they have had to make the greatest sacrifices in the reorganization of university staffs. This cannot be explained merely on grounds of the racial or political affiliations of former professors. It goes deeper. Many of those still at their posts remain on sufferance: there is no one to take their places. The social science faculties have declined in size and quality. Some of this may be due to the time required to train successors to those displaced. But after five years they are not in sight. Persons in responsible positions are asking themselves how the social sciences are going to survive as sciences on the professorial side. Even the amount of social science teaching in the German universities to-day is no sure guide for the future, because much of it is still conducted by those who remain over from the Weimar period. They may or may not wear a swastika badge. (The time is approaching when no German civil servant will be able to go without a swastika badge any more than an English professor could dispense with his collar and tie if he wished to maintain his position in society.)

In considering the future prospects of the social sciences one cannot be guided by what is still taught by the representatives of the pre-1933 sciences. Little indication is given by anything produced up to the present, because there is scarcely anything outside the type of approach mentioned in

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our first section. Here, as in the case of other sciences, one can only ask what National Socialism requires of the social sciences. This has been formulated by saying that it is their task to investigate the history and conditions of existence of the German nation. The problems set are purely national in character, and it is then maintained that the results will be true only for this nation at the present time, without any wider validity. The problems, the methods, and the results have to be in accordance with the social outlook of National Socialism. This prescribes narrower limits for the social sciences than for the natural sciences, which in general just have their problems set, e.g. invent a substitute material for one in use. And owing to the contradictions between the outlook and the practice of National Socialism it is not possible for it to develop a systematic theory of social relations and current developments. Germany is claimed to be too small an area to support her population, but imperialist expansion demands an increased population. A fit population is required; but its food basis is restricted. A national community is proclaimed; yet the roots of social discord in property are carefully preserved. National Socialist ideology and the propaganda for a "German family" require that women should stay in the home; yet war preparations require them in the factory. National Socialism wants to preserve the middle classes as a stabilizing factor in society and has promised to protect the small man; yet the demand for labour in industry is now resulting in pressure on artisans and others working on their own account to join the ranks of the industrial wage-earners. The preservation of the peasantry, that section of the community most intimately connected with the native soil, is a pillar of the National Socialist outlook; yet small peasant production does not provide the marketable surplus required when foreign supplies are cut off—in economic journals discussion of the "rationalization of agriculture" has been going on for some time. In every single case the contradiction turns on the fact that practical

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policy is directed towards expansion by war or otherwise, whereas the ideology makes its appeal on other grounds.

An interesting illustration of the consequences of "German science" having only a national foundation is provided by the study of other countries. At times, especially just after the coming to power of National Socialism, it was thought possible to regard developments in other countries from the same angle as in Germany and hope that the "nation elements" would soon gain supremacy. Germany would be "a nation among nations." But all this rarely went beyond travel reports. Later, when it was seen that the similar movements in other countries were not all achieving the expected rapid success, resort was conveniently made to the "different geographical and racial conditions" as an explanation of this failure. Henceforth there was a greater readiness in many quarters to be prepared for a different line of development in other countries and content oneself with considering whether or not events there could be made serviceable to German aims or not. (18) This is really the only way open to a "national science," which amounts to saying that it can evolve no general method for the analysis of international relations and of current social developments in the world to-day. A case in point is the analysis of British imperialism as compared with German imperialism. In the case of the British Empire the ideology about allegiance to the Crown is contrasted with the actual economic advantages for which the metropolis keeps its dependencies, and in this way the ideology is undermined. This method cannot, however, be applied to German imperialism without casting doubt on the official pronouncements of National Socialism.

Sociology, then, as a systematic study seems to have no place. To the knowledge of the writer no new lecturers in sociology have been appointed in the place of professors and lecturers who have been dismissed.

No systematic economic theory is developing as a third alternative to liberal and Marxist theory. Lectures of the

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National Socialists deal with such current practical problems as the Four Year Plan and foreign exchange control and show how this *activity* of the state refutes the old *theories* based on free competition. It is economic policy and not systematic economic theory that receives attention. With the concentration of all energies on military preparedness discussion is now taking place as to whether the whole study should not be called the science of defence economy (*Wehrwirtschaftswissenschaft*). In any case this is becoming a recognized branch of economic studies.

The saying is that every generation has to rewrite history for itself. The National Socialists do not shrink from this task. Chief attention is devoted to pre-history and early Teutonic history at the one end and war and post-war history at the other. The former shows the roots of the German nation as determined by its racial qualities and native country. The latter is certainly not restricted to a mere recital of facts. Interpretation is the be-all and end-all.

The new ideas have naturally led to new appointments in universities and schools for the study of race and the types of history referred to as well as for more direct political instruction. And cinema audiences are regularly put to sleep with educational films on the German countryside, German church spires, and German birds, fruits, and flowers.

NOTES

(1) "For our part we do not in any way deny a variety of influences: geographical situation and climate and political tradition. But all these are surpassed by blood and character determined by blood. The vital matter is to win back *this* order of precedence." (A. Rosenberg, *Mythus des XX Jahrhunderts*, 1938 ed., p. 17.)

(2) "A state of the future . . . while retaining monogamy, will have the same respect for all mothers of German children, including unmarried ones, and will give illegitimate children the same social and legal standing as legitimate ones." (A. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 593.)

(3) Cf. A. Meusel, "National Socialism and the Family," in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, 1936.

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(4) "The course of history is not an advance of mankind or of the nation to any concrete goal. Similarly, for reason, truth, and science there is no such progress." (E. Krieck, *Wissenschaft, Weltanschauung, Hochschulreform*, 1934, p. 7.)

"We no longer regard history as continual development of mankind, whether it be towards humanity, towards the Christianizing of all nations, or to some kind of world culture, and no longer as a violent class war, but as a struggle of psychic-racial powers with their environment and other races." (A. Rosenberg, *Wesen, Grundsätze und Ziele der N.S.D.A.P.*, 1930, p. 9.)

"At God's call comes destiny, the historical movement which acts through those who have been called on the life of the nation and through the chosen nation on the nations." (E. Krieck, *Völkisch-politische Anthropologie*, 1936, I, p. 82.)

"The law of politics reads: Whoever is unable to be the hammer, becomes the anvil. . . ." "The external political order is always struggle, struggle for territory, for domination, for prestige, for gain and loss of human values and man-power. . . ." (E. Krieck, *op. cit.*, 1937, II, pp. 74 and 82.)

(5) "Peoples without a state are necessarily without history, peoples without destiny, whose rôle it is to serve as a means and object for the formation of states and empires for other nations, which as the bearers of historical missions and destinies are called upon to be ruling nations and to build states." (E. Krieck, *Anthropologie*, I, p. 98.)

An interesting application of the principles of racial imperialism appears in Krieck's periodical *Volk im Werden*, December 1937, in an article by J. F. Gellert on the "Gegenwartsaufgaben der deutschen Kolonialwissenschaft": "Investigations into European settlement in colonies should not restrict themselves one-sidedly to the biological medical aspects, but should extend also to matters of racial and social policy and of economic organization. In colonies with a fairly dense native population it is intolerable from the point of view of racial and social policy for Europeans to settle like the peasants at home and to expect them to perform the same physical labour as, say, the neighbouring native black peasant. The physical and other work of the European colonist must, on grounds of racial policy, always differ from the work of the native and express the European's standpoint of ruling and leadership."

(6) Cf. Krieck, *Wissenschaft, Weltanschauung, Hochschulreform*, p. 61.

(7) "The Shamanic medicine-man stands higher than the chemist, when fulfilling his healing mission among his own people. . . ." This follows naturally from a denial of development in science or society.

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But then, when the occasion suits, we shall find praise for the achievements of German doctors in the former colonies! Applying the same argument to modern nations Krieck (*Wissenschaft, Weltanschauung, Hochschulreform*, p. 33) proceeds to maintain that "on German national soil, in the Third Reich, it is the place for the German, the national-political doctor, who obtains his healing power from blood and soil, from the forces of his race and the common psychic background, and whose capacities prove adequate to the requirements of the nation. Any other doctors, even with good technical ability and corresponding success in particular cases, are bound to have only a destructive and disruptive effect on this national soil."

(8) The greatest affinity is shown, of course, to the counter-attack on atomistic and disruptive liberalism from an organic point of view after the French Revolution. Adam Müller is now proclaimed as a forerunner of National Socialism.

(9) Nearly all National Socialist works on and references to the nineteenth century relate to ideology. Their criticism of the ideas of liberty and social equality take the form of showing that these principles were not applied in practice. They then urge the casting aside of the principles.

(10) "We have a political concept of race which is more important and more decisive than existing theories and research on race." And "Our race remains for us a foundation of our life and future, the mainstay and backbone of the national community, even if the theory has not kept pace with our views in all respects. . . ." (E. Krieck, *Wissenschaft, Weltanschauung, Hochschulreform*, pp. 38 and 43.)

(11) "It would be a fatal error, spreading the germs of decay from a dying epoch, to seek to base German faith and therewith the future of Germany on knowledge and science, thus completely reversing the relation between faith and knowledge. . . . Whoever now undertakes to base German faith on any kind of knowledge, that is, the permanent and certain on the uncertain and fluctuating, conveys liberalism in a camouflaged form into the Third Reich and becomes like vermin sapping the vital power of the Movement." (E. Krieck, *Wissenschaft, Weltanschauung, Hochschulreform*, p. 42.)

(12) In the article on Colonial Science referred to above (see Note 5), it is stated that after the pronouncements of Hitler there is no room for any further discussion as to why Germany should have colonies and whether they would benefit her. The Leader has stated Germany must have them. The only things left to discuss therefore are the relations between whites and natives, methods of administration, etc.

(13) There is still a feeling expressed at conferences of students,

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lecturers, and others that the universities still have to go a long way before they will become ideal training-grounds for National Socialists. A large amount of the difficulty arises from not knowing what to put in the place of much that is taught at present. The consequence of these misgivings at the moment is a lowering of the standing of the universities. Quite apart from the reduction in numbers, the length of study tends to be shortened by the three years' labour service and military training, if possible before entering the university, and, at the other end, the encouragement to complete the course as quickly as possible and become active in industry or politics.

(14) The danger for science resulting from its being judged according to how it assists the National Socialist cause is admitted in some quarters. Krieck (*Wissenschaft, Weltanschauung, Hochschulreform*, p. 11) states: "... responsibility to the whole nation is nothing other than the National Socialist idea. . . . The science of the future is subject to the primacy of the National Socialist idea, and under this law it will attain a new level of existence and new heights—or it will perish. That is the danger for science: its 'either . . . or' is historically necessary and inescapable."

(15) "Biological outlook—inadequate expression—is not identical with the special science of biology." (E. Krieck, *Anthropologie*, I, p. 7.) The subsequent discussion of the term shows clearly that it is its social implications with which he is concerned.

(16) "In the growing man nothing can really evolve which is not in his innate qualities and disposition. Everything else, everything merely introduced from the outside, results only in tacking on an artificial façade." (Krieck, *Wissenschaft, Weltanschauung, Hochschulreform*, p. 40.)

(17) Amusing and pathetic are the cases of the efforts of those responsible for the teaching of foreign languages to overcome the danger of their students' faith in National Socialism being affected by what they see, hear, and read if they go abroad to improve their knowledge of a language.

(18) "We only have to promote and welcome nationalism as the rise of certain inner values among those nations in the case of which we believe that their line of historical development does not come into conflict with the forces radiating from the German people. . . . (Other nationalist movements) either do not concern us or interest us only in so far as a far-sighted German policy expects from the utilisation of them the strengthening of the Teutonic peoples, and within this Teutonic awakening a strengthening of the German nation." (A. Rosenberg, *Mythus des XX Jahrhunderts*, p. 644.)

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PRISONS—AND BEYOND. By Sanford Bates. *Macmillan*. 15s.

Sanford Bates is the occasional instance of a valuable result from a villainous system. The American prisons are cursed with the octopus of party politics. It is not infrequently the practice for a newly elected Governor to reward his supporters by appointing them to be Wardens of gaols. It was thus that the promising young lawyer called Sanford Bates, who was a Senator in the State of Massachusetts, became in due course, because of his support given to a successful Mayor, the Commissioner of Correction. The study of law had given him a nicely balanced judgment; the practice of politics had imparted a knowledge of men and the art of handling them. These are no mean gifts for a prison administrator, so long as they do not carry with them the concomitant features of a politician, which may comprise a superficial judgment and an entirely false scale of values.

Sanford Bates brought with him to the prison field the merits of the politician and the lawyer, and with an infectious smile discarded their defects. As Director of the Federal Prisons and the representative of the United States on the International Prison Commission, he has become one of the great practical prison experts in the world, forsaking politics because he found another field that was cleaner and more constructive.

The book covers the whole gamut of prison history and administration. The advent of the psychologist and psychiatrist is welcomed, but their subordination to the disciplinary services is deplored in two shrewd paragraphs:

"The psychologists and the psychiatrists are becoming a valuable addition to the staff of every up-to-date penal institution. The psychiatrist had no place in a regime of mass punishment. He becomes indispensable, however, where the object is to know and treat the individual." (p. 121.)

"... It is not uncommon to find the professional staff sitting lightly upon the institution organization like the foam upon a glass of beer, adding considerably to its appearance but quickly blown aside whenever there is serious work to be done." (p. 122, quoting Dr. F. L. Bixby.)

He condemns in a couple of sentences the conditions of the county gaol:

"The idle mind is the devil's workshop, and the devil has plenty of work in the average county jail. In fact, he is about the only one who does any work." (p. 47.)

With the fairness that hides nothing, he quotes the verdict passed on them by the Prison Commissioner from England:

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"There remains the smaller unit, known in each State as the County, and to this authority is delegated the care of prisoners who are awaiting trial or deportation, or who are sentenced to a short period of imprisonment. These county gaols, scattered throughout the States, are, with some remarkable exceptions, e.g. New York State and Massachusetts, the scandal and disgrace of a great community. Hard words about prisons were written by Charles Dickens eighty years ago; more bitter still were the graphic notes of John Howard a hundred before. The vitriol of the former and the indignation of the latter are still not out of place to-day in trying to depict the horrors of an American County Gaol. Young and old, virtuous and depraved, innocent and double-dyed, are thrown into the closest association by night and day. For the most part, they spend the whole day in idleness, reading tattered newspapers or playing cards, herded in cages, devoid of proper sanitation, with little chance of exercise or occupation. The smell of these places is foul, their whole suggestion is infamous: their effect on the young or innocent can only be deplorable. There they sit and lounge and lie this day, rotting in the fœtid air, and though all agree that these things are unspeakably evil, yet they continue from year to year, and the public conscience is not sufficiently aroused to demand a cleansing of the stable." (p. 39, quoting A. Paterson.)

In the matter of prison riots, his panacea for avoiding them reveals his principles of gaol administration:

"Finally, to prevent prison riots we must build up a new morale and a new attitude by and toward the prisoners—an attitude of fair play, an equality of treatment which does not sacrifice discipline on the one hand nor fairness on the other. If we increase the certainty of apprehension and the speed of disposition, we shall be better able to distribute punishment more equally, deterrence will be more effective, and the sense of injustice of those who are caught will be reduced." (p. 88.)

The constructive value of the book is enhanced by a historical survey of the expansion of the Federal Prison system. During the ten years of his administration, the Federal establishments, to which are consigned all violators of Federal laws as distinct from those who offend against the laws of a State, rose in number from two penitentiaries and a small gaol to twelve large establishments, strung across the Continent and providing varying degrees of security, for different types of criminal. Here is a strange sample:

"X—Y—recently accomplished his object, albeit in a roundabout way. He repeatedly presented himself at a Veterans' Hospital and obtained treatment to which he was not legally entitled. His fraud was discovered, and he was given a sentence of ten years in a Federal penitentiary for defrauding the Government by obtaining medical treatment.

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It might have been cheaper to give it to him in the first place, because he has now been transferred to the prison hospital at Springfield, Missouri, for treatment for a chronic degenerative disease. He will get the treatment just the same, although he had to become a convict to do so." (p. 157.)

It is of interest to note that in building up a great Federal prison service, Sanford Bates decided not to establish a prison medical service, but to remit the physical and psychological care of his prisoners to the U.S. Public Health service. They appoint and inspect the medical services of each Federal establishment. Any visitor might well question the chance of smooth working when the Medical Officer of a prison was responsible to one Department of State, and the Warden, under whom, for purposes of discipline, he was serving, was responsible to another Department. The answer of Washington is that a system which appears prone to dislocation and embarrassment works smoothly and efficiently. It has the advantage of bringing to each prison doctors with fresh minds who know nothing of prison traditions or restrictions, and it harnesses all the medical resources of the Federal system to vary the treatment of the prisoner.

Conscious that the sociologist should also have an assured place in the treatment of each individual prisoner, Sanford Bates introduced into each of his large establishments one or more Warden's Assistants. This is his description of the project:

"Prisoners can be punished in a mass, as we have said elsewhere, but they can only be reformed individually. A part of the programme of individualized education and welfare for the adjustable group (and also a step in determining whom to put into the adjustable group) must be the preparation of a case history of each individual concerned. We realized that this was a job to be handled by specially trained persons. We were a little bit sensitive about calling them research assistants or social workers, but the name 'warden's assistant' seemed to be reasonable enough and could not offend even the most captious critic of our penal methods. High standards were set up for these new members of the prison staff. While, as the next chapter will indicate, we insist upon a minimum training for our custodial officers, these men, holding positions more nearly as personnel workers, must be more highly qualified. The Civil Service requirements for the job therefore were graduation from a standard university with at least 118 semester hours, 20 of which must have been in sociology, economics or psychology; and for the senior Warden's Assistant, at least one year's experience with a recognized social-work agency." (p. 157.)

The remainder of the world is so accustomed to associate the United

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States with mass treatment and mass production that it is refreshing to read such a stern insistence on the need for individual training as in this paragraph:

"The outstanding task of prison administration is, first, the recognition or isolation and, second, the solution of the individual problem. We can provide the paraphernalia of reform (which we have done)—clean beds, adequate food, hospitals, additional schools, libraries, recreation fields, consultant services, and so on—and if a prisoner has the will to reform and if he steps out of the ranks he may avail himself of these opportunities. But stand, as I have done, in the corridor of one of our large prisons and watch the endless file of men shuffling by. Even as you and I, each one of them is to himself the centre of the universe." (p. 159.)

Whereas in the State prisons it is the usual practice for the Deputy-Warden to adjudicate in person on all infractions of prison rules, it was made the custom in the Federal prisons for a Disciplinary Board to be charged with such duties. It is of interest to note, with reference to a demand made recently in this country for every prisoner to have a "friend" on such occasions, that the Federal system allows a prisoner brought before a Disciplinary Board to nominate any officer of the prison he may choose to act in this capacity. A Federal prisoner may, moreover, write an uncensored letter to the Director of Prisons at the Ministry of Justice in Washington, and something like 175 such letters are received each month, containing criticism and complaint and application.

There has been much controversy in America, as in every other progressive country, over the system of self-government in prisons. It has, on the one hand, been argued that only by taking a responsible hand in the government of his fellows can a criminal learn the need for law and its enforcement; it has with equal credibility been maintained that those who cannot obey laws are unfit to govern others. Sanford Bates does not dive into these deep waters, where so often the only fish that rises has two horns. He contents himself with the practical observation that the existence of some sort of prisoners' council or committee furnishes the Warden with a far more useful source of information as to what is going on within the prison than is afforded by some individual "stool-pigeon" whose motives are highly questionable.

No writer on American prisons can fairly avoid reference to the problem of occasional riots, which assume such undue importance in journalistic judgment. With the same crispness that marks the whole book, he gives a constructive opinion:

"But the prison most likely to be without riots will be the one in which there will be neither coddling nor brutality, neither idleness nor industrial

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slavery, neither rigidity nor vacillation, neither disdain nor fraternizing. In it scrupulous cleanliness will rule and productive work will be the part of all—inmates and officers. There must be impartiality of treatment, impeccable honesty, just treatment for the poor and lowly as well as for the rich and influential." (p. 89.)

Without a closer knowledge of the facts that prevail at the moment, it is perhaps risky to criticize the decision to abandon a common training-school for prison officers and to substitute a course of intensive training at the establishment to which the recruit is in the first instance attached. It would seem at first sight to be a reactionary movement. The teaching of good men to handle bad men is an art not universally mastered. The head of a training school for prison officers is a man most carefully chosen because he possesses this rare gift, and it is not likely that such a one will be found on the staff of each of many establishments.

The release of prisoners on parole is a question that agitates the mind of police and prison and public throughout the States. It is commonly alleged that a large proportion of the crime committed must be attributed to men on parole from a previous sentence. Sanford Bates rebuts this contention by producing figures in the case of his Federal prisoners, to the effect that in a given year only 2·8 per cent. of men on parole have committed a fresh offence. He recommends the parole boards, who are charged with the highly responsible duty of returning criminals to the community, to study the predictability of success. Just as the actuary can advise insurance companies as to the expectancy of life of men of different ages and types, so he considers the student of criminal statistics can advise parole boards as to the chance of different types of prisoner abstaining from crime on release. While admitting that ultimately the parole boards must be guided by their knowledge and assessment of each individual, their general policy in the matter of release may be more safely based, if they are aware of the average chance of success that different types have experienced.

The author, with his incisive and unrelenting mind, recalls that prisons as well as prisoners may tend to become recidivist, and to slip back after brave endeavour:

"If all the prisons of the country were to be reformed to-day, how long would they stay reformed? It seems to take a remarkably short time for a prison or a jail to slip back into its original condition of cruelty, graft, laxity, and uncleanness. I can recall three distinct occasions when an enlightened prison administrator harnessed himself to the task of cleaning up the impossibly bad conditions in the penal institutions in New York City. When the present progressive Commissioner of Correction in America's largest city lays down the reins, how long will it be before the

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situation reverts to its former status? What is the reason that prisons do not stay reformed? We might attribute it to the apathetic attitude of the public, to the recurrent blight of partisan politics (which, we cannot too often repeat, is still a very real handicap in many of our States), a lack of the necessary appropriations, or the demand for vengeance; or perhaps the greatest reason is the fact that they are still prisons." (p. 269.)

Finally, he reminds us that as places of training prisons suffer three severe handicaps. They find it difficult to furnish the right sort and amount of work for each prisoner; they are restricted seriously by the requirements of security, and, almost inevitably, they enforce a repression of the emotions which may frequently be harmful to the development of character. He points to the advantages of a prison camp, and relates how, of 9,000 men sent to these camps in three years, only 200 made an effort to evade custody, and how 189 of these were speedily returned.

Then he summarizes his constructive proposals :

"While I have expressed some doubts herein as to the ultimate possibility of establishing enough prisons that really reform, the whole thesis of this book must be seen to be a contention that constructive discipline (an absence of brutality on the one hand and sentimentality on the other); an understanding of the individual; the abolition of the county jail so hopelessly enmeshed in local politics and the substitution for it of better methods of handling prisoners awaiting trial as well as State labour camps; the increased emphasis on the duty of prisons to restore men to society less dangerous; segregation, more or less permanent, of the incorrigible criminal; a properly administered parole supervision system applying to all released prisoners; probation as a constructive discipline for minor or accidental offenders, are the component parts of a humane penal programme which may succeed where swift and sure punishment unaccompanied by such effort will not." (p. 303.)

Those who wish to be thrilled will read American newspapers and many books written round the doings of gangsters. Let them have their thrill and forget it. Those who want to know the truth about the problem of American prisons will read this book, written by a human being with a sense of humour that is never sardonic but always sympathetic. This is a classic, written by an expert who has thought deeply, fared widely, built bravely, and mercifully preserved a roguish sense of humour.

RACE ATTITUDES IN SOUTH AFRICA. By I. D. MacCrone.
O.U.P. 1937. 12s. 6d.

In this important study Professor MacCrone has concentrated attention on one aspect of the many problems arising out of the contacts between different groups which have occurred in such rich variety in South

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Africa. But though his investigations are primarily concerned with what is termed "colour prejudice," he has also made a study of the attitudes of English-speaking, Afrikaans-speaking, and Jewish groups towards a number of other racial and national groups. The book consists of three parts, an elaborate historical account of the development of racial attitudes in South Africa since the first contacts, a carefully designed study by the questionnaire method, and a theoretical part giving the author's interpretation of the facts, but going a good deal beyond them in formulating a general theory of group relationships. This theoretical interpretation is in the main inspired by psycho-analytic conceptions, and it raises the question of great interest to the sociologist: how far psycho-analytic theories can be used in the interpretation of social facts without direct evidence based on actual psycho-analysis of the subjects whose attitudes are being studied. Professor MacCrone interprets the Freudian theory as implying a denial of the existence of any primary social tendencies in man. I do not feel certain that this interpretation is justifiable. Sex in the narrow sense may perhaps be described as egoistic in so far as the opposite sex is treated merely as an object affording satisfaction, but sex love, that is love infused with tenderness, is surely genuinely other-regarding, and there are many indications in Freudian theory that the libido is wider than sex and includes other forms of attachment. Be this as it may, the essence of MacCrone's theory seems to be that the more obvious motives of group antagonism are not enough to account for the phenomena, and that there must be deeper causes of hostility having their roots in primitive unconscious tendencies. These deep-seated elements he finds in the aggressive tendencies in man which find some outlet within the group and in the manifestations of conscience, but for which the readiest channel of discharge is an alien and potentially hostile "out-group." In becoming a member of a group an individual has to repress his aggressive impulses or to overcome them by sublimation or identification. But this process is never complete, and a conflict results which is only made tolerable by the diversion of the hate impulses on to an out-group. The explanation raises the same type of difficulty which arises in connexion with the somewhat similar explanation given by some psycho-analysts of war. Even if we grant that there are hidden or unconscious sources of aggression and hostility, the fact remains that some groups live in friendly relations with one another while others do not, and that in many instances group hostility, so far from being spontaneous, has to be generated by persistent propaganda. Surely the differentiating factors cannot be regarded as merely secondary, but must form an integral part of any satisfactory explanation of the phenomena. The starting-point in such explanation would appear to be the degree to

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which particular groups need to secure unity and uniformity of behaviour, the conditions under which this need is intensified by fear of disruption or uncertainty of cohesion, and on the other hand the conditions which inspire the group with such confidence in itself that it can afford to tolerate divergencies in behaviour. Professor MacCrone has something to say on these points in so far as they are relevant to his particular inquiry, but he appears somewhat too ready to rely on general psycho-analytic theories and to apply them *ad hoc* to particular situations without direct evidence in their favour. He has, for example, much that is illuminating to say on the part played by sexual rivalry in colour prejudice, but what evidence is there for the view that "the white woman represents the mother figure who either degrades herself or is sexually assaulted, while the native represents the father figure who ousts the child," or for the view that the insistence on racial purity is due to a desire to keep sexuality in the form of a potentially superior sexual rival at bay?

Despite these difficulties, the book will be welcomed by sociologists as a valuable contribution to a difficult set of problems rarely handled with the care and objectivity here manifested.

M. GINSBERG.

MARX. By Professor Karl Korsch. *Chapman & Hall*. 6s.

This is Volume V of the "Modern Sociologists" series edited by Professor Morris Ginsberg and Alexander Farquharson. It is certainly not easy to say something new about Marx. But it is even more difficult to present his teachings in the form of a textbook covering all aspects of the Marxian doctrine. Never was I so much aware of these difficulties than in reading Professor Korsch's interesting and stimulating study.

Korsch possesses a model knowledge of every imaginable literature connected with Marxism. He has a special gift for discovering and presenting the most "philosophical" abstract underlying assumptions of the Marxian doctrine. He has an unusually acute sense of Marx's dependence upon his precursors, of the variation of his ideas with the historical phases of the labour movement which he saw, of the message his doctrine may carry for our own times. I have little doubt that his is the Marx-study most solidly close to the actual teaching of Marx. Where every other author instinctively attempts to reinterpret Marx on his own lines of thought, Korsch, I believe, successfully tries to interpret Marx's own line of thoughts. It is not an easy book to read, and can hardly be regarded as an introduction to Marx for those who did not know him before. But for all closer students of the subject it will be an invaluable help in finding out about Marx, the real Marx as distinct from the figment his disciples made of his doctrine.

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Yet precisely on account of the high achievement of Korsch, I never felt so strongly how difficult, nay impossible, it is to write a real textbook about Marx. Economics proper are outside the scope of Korsch's study, and the section dealing with Marx's economic teachings touches only upon those general underlying assumptions of economic Marxism which are basic for an understanding of Marx's theory of social life. It was perhaps less inevitable that the third and last section of the book, dealing with historical materialism as such, again confines itself to the general principles of this science, without at all entering upon a discussion of its concrete applications by Marx (and by Engels). But what really emerges most convincingly, though unintentionally, from Korsch's pages is the fact that there is no such thing as Marxism. There is an economic doctrine; but the more general doctrine of society called "historical materialism" always remained sketchy, limited to a few general formulæ. The man who wanted to write a textbook of historical materialism would have to create it, not to take it from Marx. Remaining within the sphere of an interpretation of Marx himself, the doctrine is limited to a few generalities.

Korsch's sense of these underlying generalities is particularly acute, and it is in the first section of his book, where he deals with the most basic assumptions of Marxism, that he is at his best. I cannot help feeling, however, that the only correct approach to Marx's work to-day is a critical approach. And from such an approach Korsch's study is very far indeed. Korsch believes in his Marx, and believes in him thoroughly. It is not that he would refuse to criticize him in details; he even sometimes, in stimulating remarks, hints to the general limitations of Marx's outlook resulting from the specific period in which he worked and lived. He applies his strong critical gifts to elucidate Marx's relation to his precursors, and gives us, I believe, an entirely correct formula of Marx's relation to Hegel. But Korsch is convinced that during the seventy years since Marx published the first volume of *Capital*, nothing of basic importance has happened in the science of man. "Subjective" economics are rejected *a limine*, and Korsch makes the best of a hopeless job of defending Marxian economics as they are. Psycho-analysis is—the psychology of the bourgeois subconscious. Max Weber is nothing but a polemical reflex of Marx; Spengler the avowed bankruptcy of the bourgeoisie. Generally speaking, Marxism in Korsch's view has nothing to learn from modern sociology. On the other hand, Korsch is well aware that Marx's epigons have contributed next to nothing to our knowledge of society. Thus the question arises: Have we learnt absolutely nothing of real importance and value since the genius of one superman showed us the road to follow? For Korsch, one is inclined to infer, all "bourgeois" science is

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following a blind alley. But Marxism, he must admit, is following a blind alley as well. If Korsch's appreciation were correct, social science would find itself in an absolute impasse. That, I believe, is a very big misconception, entirely due to the refusal, on the part of orthodox Marxists, to acknowledge what has been achieved, since Marx, in the field of so-called "bourgeois" science.

F. BORKENAU.

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